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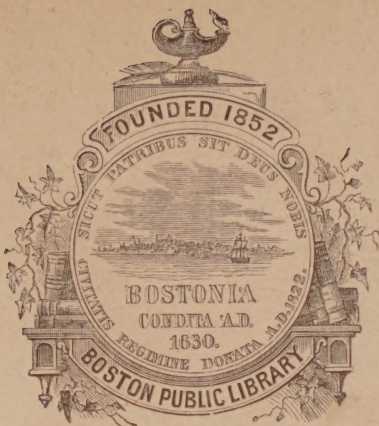
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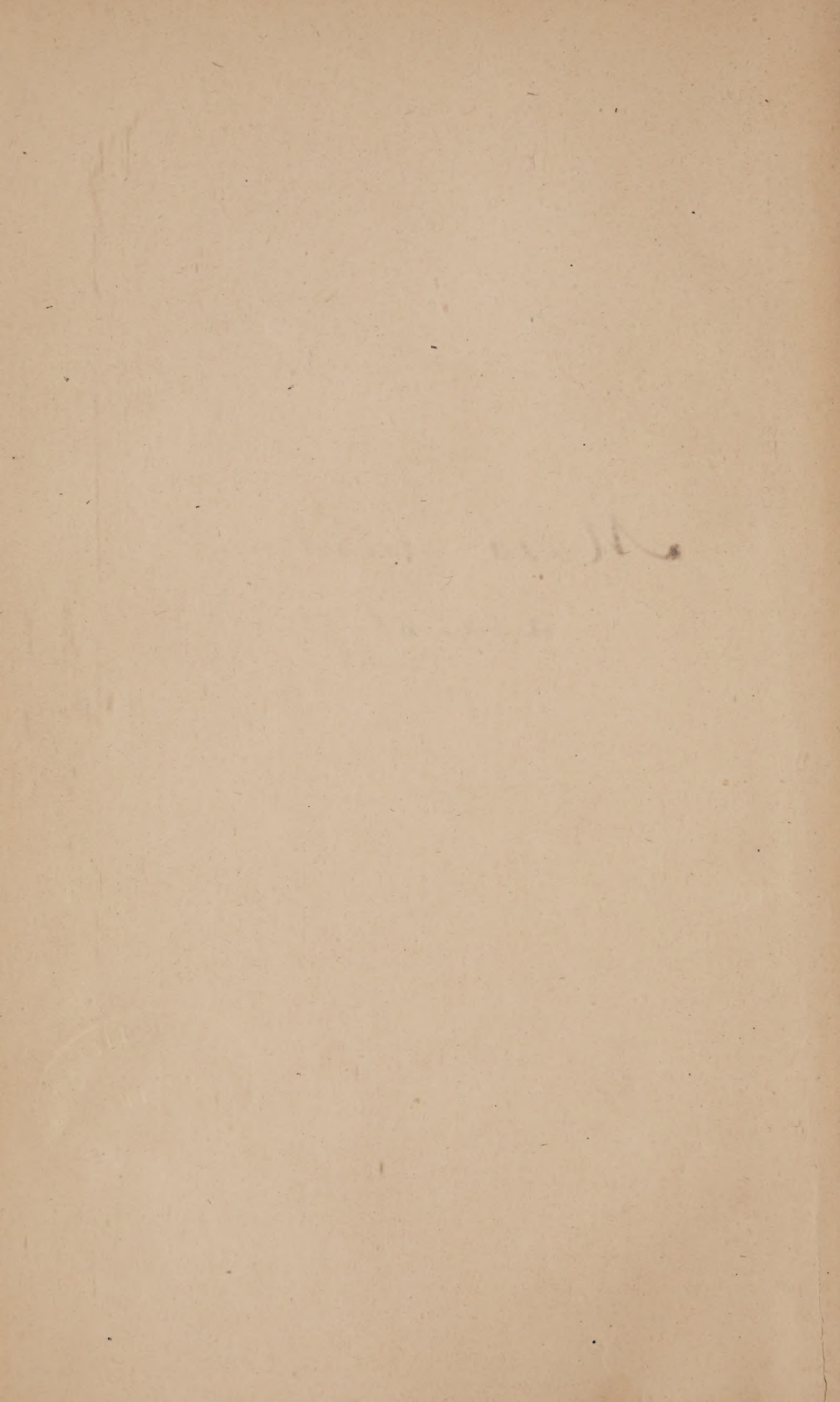
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PAMPHLETS.

*Mass. historical
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ACCESSION No. 365,916

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BACON'S AND INGRAM'S REBELLION.



THE HISTORY

OF

BACON'S AND INGRAM'S REBELLION

IN VIRGINIA,

7350272

IN 1675 AND 1676.

CAMBRIDGE:

PRESS OF JOHN WILSON AND SON.

1867.

From the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society"

For 1866-1867.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE somewhat famous episode in the history of Virginia, known as "Bacon's Rebellion," took place in the years 1675 and 1676. In the latter part of the year 1676, Bacon died; and, by January following, his lieutenant-general, Ingram (whose true name, says Beverly, was Johnson), and his major-general, Walklett, had surrendered, and peace was restored.

For the character of the leader, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, — who is said to have "been brought up at one of the Inns of Court in England," and to have been "young, bold, active, of an inviting aspect and powerful elocution," — and for the causes which brought about this popular rising against Sir William Berkeley, we would refer to the "History of Virginia," by Robert Beverly (an almost contemporary writer), and also to the later Histories of that State, by John Burk and by Charles Campbell. See also, in the first volume of Force's "Historical Tracts," a narrative, entitled "The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion," and said to have been written thirty years after the events took place; also, in the same volume, a

paper called, "An Account of Our Late Troubles in Virginia, written in 1676, By Mrs Ann Cotton, of Q. Creeke."

The manuscript, from which the following narrative is printed, is evidently contemporaneous with the events described, or written not long after their occurrence. It is in the form of a small octavo, the text, with the heading, measuring five inches and a half by three and a half, not paged. Portions of it are wanting. Fifty-two pages survive. The chirography is remarkably distinct. Several leaves being destroyed at the beginning and the end, there is no title, except the running-title on each page, viz., "The Indians Proseedings," "Ingram's Proceedings," &c., as in the reprint. Upon the outside of the brown paper cover, in a later hand, is written "Bacons proceedi[ngs,] July 27, 1764." Many of the remaining leaves are much injured by time.

The unknown writer of the manuscript, near the close, on page 49 of this volume, says that Major Page, one of the rebels executed, was "once my servant at his first coming into the countrey." In "A List of those that have been executed for y^e late Rebellion in Virginia," furnished by Governor Berkeley, and published in the first volume of Force's "Historical Tracts," is the following: "One Page, a carpenter, formerly my servant," &c. The query is at once suggested, whether Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, was the author of this manuscript. It was evidently written by one who did not sympathize with the rebel movement, but from some criticisms, in the narrative, on the motives and conduct of Sir William, it seems hardly possible that

he could have been the writer. Sir William died, says Campbell, on the 13th of July, 1677.

This narrative was first printed in the First Volume of the Second Series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, in 1814, from the manuscript just described, which was communicated to the Society by the late Hon. Josiah Quincy, then a member of Congress from the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Quincy received the manuscript from the Hon. William A. Burwell, member of Congress from the State of Virginia, accompanied by the following letter:—

WASHINGTON, December 20th, 1812.

DEAR SIR,—The manuscript copy of "Bacon and Ingram's Rebellion" was found among the papers of the late Captain Nathaniel Burwell, of King-William County. I have not been able to obtain many particulars from his family relative to it.

At the close of the war, he heard of its existence in an old and respectable family of the Northern Neck of Virginia, and procured it for his amusement: he entertained no doubt of its antiquity, and valued it on that account.

From the appearance of the work, the minute and circumstantial detail of facts, the orthography, and the style, I am perfectly satisfied his opinion was correct. I hope it will be found worthy of a place in the valuable Collections of the Society to which you belong.

Permit me to offer my best wishes for the success of your labors.

Yours respectfully,

WILLIAM A. BURWELL, of Virginia.

The attention of the Massachusetts Historical Society having been recently called to this manuscript, with a view of restoring it to the family of Mr. Burwell, or of depositing it in the Library of the Virginia Historical Society, where it has since been placed, a careful collation of it with the printed copy was made by the

Assistant Librarian, Dr. John Appleton, and a great many errors and some omissions in the latter were discovered. The required corrections were made in a copy of the printed volume; and, in view of their number and importance, the Committee, to whom the subject was referred, decided to have the paper reprinted before the manuscript should be returned to Virginia. It has accordingly been printed in a volume of the Society's Proceedings, under the date of August, 1867; and two hundred copies have been struck off in a separate form.

For the Committee of Publication,

CHARLES DEANE.

Boston, September 20, 1867.

[THE HISTORY OF BACON'S AND INGRAM'S REBELLION.]

[“ *The Indians Proseedings.*”]

. *

for there owne security. They found that there store was too short to indure a long Seige, with out makeing emty belles and that emty belies, makes weake hearts, which all ways makes an unfit Serving Man to wāte upon the God of war. Therefore they were resalue, before that there spirits were downe, to doe what they could to keepe there stores up; as oppertunity should befriend them. And all though they were by the Law of Arms (as the case now stood) prohibited the hunting of wilde Deare, they resalued to see what good might be don by hunting tame Horsses. Which trade became their sport soe loñ, that those who came on Horsback to the seige, began to feare the should be compelled to trot hom a foot, and glad if they scap'd so too: for these beleagured blades made so many salleys, and the beseigers kep such negligent gards, that there was very few days past without som remarkeable mischeife. But what can hould out all ways? euen stone walls yeilds to the not to be gaine-saide summons of time. And all though it is saide that the Indians doth the least minde their Bellies (as being content with a litle) of any people in the world, yet now there bellies began to minde them, and there stomacks too, which began to be more inclineable to peace, then war; which was the cause (no more Horss flesh being to be had) that they sent out 6 of their Worawances (cheife men) to commence a treaty. What the Artickles were, that they brought aloñ with them, to treat of, I do not know; but certainly they were so unacceptable to the English, that they caused the Commissioners braines to be knock'd out, for dictateing so badly to there tongues; which yet, 'tis posible, exprest more reason then the English had, to prove the lawfullness of this action, being Diametreall to the Law of Arms.

A neglected
seige.

The Indians
send out . . .
there cheif
men to . . .

* Where dots are inserted, the manuscript is either torn or illegible; where brackets are used, the words are supplied by the Editors; where the original is indistinct, italics are employed. — EDS.

This strange action put those in the Fort to there trumps, haueing thus lost som of their prime court cards, without a faire dealeing. They could not well tell what interpretation *to put upon it* (nor indeed, nobody ell-) and very faine they wo[uld] . . . why those, whom they sent out with a [view] *to suplicate* a peace should be worss delt with then [those who] were sent out with a sword to denounce a war; but, [no one] could be got to make inquirye into the reason of this . . . which put them upon a ressalution to forsake there [station, and] not to expostulate the cause any further. Haueing [made] this resalution, and destroyed all things in the fort, that might be servisable to the English, they bouldly, undiscovered, slip through the League (leaving the English to prosecute the seige, as Schogin's wife brooded the eggs that the Fox had suck'd) in the passing of which they knock'd ten men o'th head, who lay carelessly asleep in there way.

The Indians
forsake [the]
Fort.

Now all though it might be saide that the Indians went there ways emty handed, in regard they had left all there plunder and welth behinde them in the fort, yet it cannot be thought that they went away emty hearted: For though that was pritty well drained from it's former curage, through those inconvenencies that they had bin subjected to, by the seige, yet in y^e roome thereof, rather then the venticles should lie voide, they had stowed up so much mallize, entermixt with a ressalution of revenge, for the affrunt that the English had put upon them, in killing there messingers of peace, that they resalued to commence a most barbarous and most bloody war.

The Indians
resolue to re-
venge them-
selues on the
English.

The Beseigers haueing spent a grate deale of ill imployed time in pecking at the huske, and now findeing the shell open, and mising the expected prey, did not a litle woonder what was be com of the lately impounded Indinans, who, though at present the could not be seene, yet it was not long before that they were heard off, and felt too. For in a very short time they had, in a most inhumane maner, murdered no less then 60 innocent people, no ways guilty of any actuall injury don to these ill disarning, brutish heathen. By the blood of these poore soules, they thought that the wandering ghosts of those there Commissioners, before mentioned, might be atton'd, and lade downe to take there repose in the dismall shades of death, and they, at present, not obliged for to prosecute any further revenge. Therefore to prove whether the English was as redy for a peace, as themselves, they send in there remoustrance in the name of there [Chief, (ta)ken by an English interpreter,] unto the Governour [of Verg]inia, with whom he expostulates in this sort. Wh[at was it] that moved him to take up

The Indians
... to justi-
fy there Pro-
ceedings.

Arms, against him, his pr[ofessed] friēd, in the behalfe of the Marylanders, his profes[sed ene]mies, contrary to that league made betwene [him] and himselfe? Declares as well his owne as su[bjects] greife to finde the Verginians, of Friēds, without any cause giuen, to becom his foes, and to be so eager in their groundless quarill, as to persew the chase into anothers dominions: Complaines, that his mesingers of peace, were not oneley murthered by the English, but the fact countinanced by the Governour's Connivance: For which, seeing no other ways to be satisfied, he had revenged him self, by killing 10 for one of the Verginians, such being the disperportion betwene his grate men murther'd, and those, by his command, slane. That now, this being don, if that his honour would alow him a valluable satisfaction for the damage he had sustained by the war, and no more concerne himselfe in the Marylanders quarill, he was content to renew and confirm the ancient league of amety; other ways him selfe, and those whom he had ingaged to his intress (and there owne) were resalued to fite it out to the last man.

These proposealls not being assented to by the English, as being derogetory and point blanke, both to honour and intress, these Indians draw in others (formerly in subjection to the Verginians) to there aides: which being conjoynd (in seperate and united parties) they daily committed abundance of ungarded and un revenged murthers, upon the English; which they perpretated in a most barberous and horid maner. By which meanes abundance of the Fronteare Plantations became eather depopulated by the Indians cruletys [*sic*], or deserted by the Planters feares, who were compelled to forsake there abodes, to finde security for there lives; which they were not to part with, in the hands of y^e Indiands, but under the worst of torments. For these brutish and inhumane brutes, least their cruilties might not be thought cruill enough, they devised a hundred ways to torter and torment those poore soules with, whose reched fate it was to fall in to there unmercyfull hands. For som, before that they would deprive them of there lives, they would take a grate deale of time to deprive them first of there skins, and if that life had not, throug[h the ang]uish of there paine, forsaken there tormented bodyes, they [with] there teeth (or som instrument,) teare the nailes of [their fingers and their] toes, which put the poore sufferer to a wo[ful condition. One was prepared for the fla]mes at Iames Towne, who indured [much, but found means] to escape. Those who had the another world, was to haue to be attributed to there more then can

The Re . . .
trance . . .
by the . . .

The Cruel-
ties of y^e In-
dians.

..... xpire with ... or other wayes to be slane out rite, for least that there Deaths should be attributed unto som more mercyfull hands then theares, for to put all out of question, they would leaue som of there brutish Markes upon there fenceless bodies, that might testifye it could be none but they who had committed the fact.

And now it was that the poore distresed and dubly afflicted Planters began to curss and execrate that ill manidged buisness at the Fort. There cryes were reitterated againe and againe, both to God and man for releife. But no appeareance of long wish'd for safety arising in the Horrison of there hopes, they were redy, could they haue tould which way, to leaue all and forsake the Collony; rather then to stay and be expos'd to the crewiltys of the barberous heathen.

At last it was concluded, as a good expedient for to put the country in to som degree of safety, for to plant Forts upon the Fronteres, thinkeing there by to put a stop unto the Indians excursions: which after the expence of a grate deale of time and charge, being finished, came short of the designed ends. For the Indians quickly found out where about these Mouse traps were sett, and for what purpose, and so resalued to keepe out of there danger; which they might easely enough do, with out any detriment to there designes. For though here by they were compeld (tis posible) to goe a litle about, yet they never thought much of there labour, so long as they were not debar'd from doing of Mischeife; which was not in the power of these forts to prevent: For if that the English did, at any time, know that there was more ways in to the wood then one, to kill Deare, the Indians found more then a thousand out of the wood, to kill Men, and not com neare the danger of the forts neather.

The small good that was by most expected, and now by [them expe]rienc'd from these useless fabricks (or castells, if a ... a marvelous discontent amongst the people. ... the charge would be grate, and the benefitt ... arise out of these wolfe-pi came every day losers; and Banke, if it do not inc to cast about for so lost. It vext t[he hearts of many tha they should] be compeld to worke all the day, (nay all the yeare), for to reward those Mole-catchers at the forts, (no body knew for what,) and at night could not finde a place of safety to lie downe in, to rest there wery bones, for feare they should be shatter'd all to peices by the Indians; upon which consideration the thought it best to petition the downe fall of these useless (and like to be) chargeable fabricks, from whose continuance they could neather expect proffitt nor safety.

Forts to be
[buil]t.

Not vallued
by the In-
dians.

But for the effecting of this buisness, they found them selues under a very grate disadvantage. For though it may be more easier to cast downe, then irect, well cemented structur, yet the rule doth not hould in all cases. For it is to be understood that these Forts were contrived, eather by the sole command of the Governour, or other ways by the advice of those whose judgments, in this affaire, he approved off; eather of which was now, they being don, his owne emediate act, as they were don in his name; which to haue undon, at the simple request of the people, had bin, in efect, to haue undon that Repute he all ways held, in the peoples judgment, for a wise Man; and better that they should suffer som small inconvenencies, then that he should be counted less diserning then those, who, till now, were counted more then halfe blinde. Besides, how should he satisfie his honour with the undertakers of the worke? If the peoples petition should be granted, they must be disapointed, which would haue bin litle less then an undoing to the allsoe, in there expectation of proffitt to be raised from the worke. Here by the people quickly found them selues in an errour, when that they apprehended what a strong foundation the Forts were irected upon, honour and proffitt, against which all there saping and mineing had no power to over turne; they haueing no other ingredience to makeing up there fire works with but prayers, and miss spent teares and intreties; which haueing vented to no purpose, and finding there condition every whit as bad, if not worse since, as before, the forts were made, they resalued . . . le patience was set to worke.

The Forts
disliked by
the English.

. many to hope in the countin- of no long being in the cou- state; and nerely related to one gnity. A Man he was of larger hich rendred him indeared (if not not for any thing he had yet don, as the cause of there affections, but what they expected he would doe to disarve there devotion; while with no common zeale, they send up there reitterated prayers, first to him self, and next to Heaven, that he may becom there Gardian Angle, to protect them from the cruiltes of the Indians, against whom this Gent:man had a perfect antipothey.

Bacon ap-
[pe]ares
against the
Indians.

It seemes, in the first rise of the War, this Gent:man had made som overtures, unto the Governour, for a Commission, to go and put a stop to the Indians proseedings. But the Governour, at present, eather not willing to commence the quarill (on his part) till more suteable reasons prisented, for to urge his more severe prosecution of the same, against the heathen: or that he douted Bacons temper, as he appear'd

Bacon
advanceth
against the
Indian.

Popularly inclin'd: A constetution not consistant with the times, and the peoples dis-positions; being generally discontented, for want of timely provissions against the Indians, or for Añuall impositions lade upon them, too grate (as they saide) for them to beare, and against which they had som considerable time complained, without the least redress. For these, or som other reasons, the Governour refused to comply with Bacon's proposalls. Which he lookeing upon as an undervalluing as well to his parts, as a disperidgment to his pretentions, hee in som elated and passionate expressions, sware Commission or no Commission, the next man or woman that he heard of that should be kild by the Indians, he would goe out against them, though but 20 men would adventure the servis with him. Now it so unhappylie fell out, that the next person that the Indians did kill, was one of his owne ffamily. Where upon haueing got together som 70 or 80 persons, most good Howsekeepers, well armed, and seeing that he could not legally procure a Commission (after som struglings with the Governour (... Scuffell) and som of his best friends, co... terprise, he applyes hi his oath, and so forth ans.

... W. dis-
gust- . . . at
Bacon's . .
ceedings.

The Governour could not this insolent deportment of Bacon ed at his proceedings. Which insteade of seekeing meanes to appease his anger, they devised meanes to increase it, by frameing specious pretences, which they grounded upon the bouldness of Bacons actions, and the peoples affections. They began (som of them) to haue Bacons Merits in mistrust, as a Luminary that thretned an eclips to there rising gloryes. For though he was but a yong man, yet they found that he was master and owner of those induments which constitutes a Compleate Man, (as to intrincecalls) wisdom to apprehend and descretion to chuse. By which imbelishments (if he should continue in the Governours favour) of Seniours they might becom juniours, while there yonger Brother, through the nimbleness of his wit, might steale away that blessing, which they accounted there owne by birth-right. This rash proseedings of Bacon, if it did not undo himselfe, by his faileing in the enterprise, might chance to undo them in the affections of the people; which to prevent, they thought it conduceable to there intrress and establishment, for to get y^e Governour in the minde to proclame him a Rebell; as knowing that once being don, since it could not be don but by and in the Governours name, it must needs breed bad blodd betwene Bacon and S^r William, not easely to be purged. For though S^r William might forgiue, what Bacon, as yet, had acted; yet it might be questionable whether Bacon might forget

what Sir William had don: However, according to there desires, Forces . . .
to reduce
Bacon. Bacon and all his adhereance was proclaimed a Rebell, May the 29, and forces raised to reduce him to his duty. With which the Governour advanced from the Midle Plantation* to finde him out, and if neede was to fight him, if the Indians had not knock'd him, and those with him, on the head, as som were in hope they had don, and which by som was ernistly desired.

After som few days the Governour retracts his march, (a jurnye of som 30 or 40 miles) to meet with the Assembly, now redy to sit downe at our Metropolis, while Bacon in the meane time meets with the Indians, upon whom he falls with abundance of ressalution and gallentrey (as his owne party relates it) in there fastness; killing a grate many, and blowing up there Magazene of Arms and Pouder, to a considerable quantity . . . y his self, no less then 4000 weight. This [being done, and all his] Provisions spent, he returns hom to his . . . e, where he submits him selfe to be chosen Bur[ghess of t]he County in which he did live, contrary to his qualifications, take him as he was formerly one of the Councill of State, or as hee was now a proclaimed Rebell. How ever, he applyes him selfe to the performance of that trust reposed in him, by the people, if he might be admited into the Howse. But this not faging according to his desire, though according to his expectation, and he remaneing in his sloop, (then at Ancor before the Towne) in which was about 30 Gent:men besides himselfe, he was there surprised with the rest, and made prissoner, som being put into Irons: in which condition they remaned som time, till all things were fitted for the triall. Which being brought to a day of Brought
upon his
triall and
acquited. heareing, before the Governour and Councill, Bacon was not onely acquitted and pardoned all misdemeniors, but restored to the Councill Table as before; and not onely, but promised to haue a Commission signed the Monday following (this was on the Saterdag) as Generall June 10.
promised a
Commission. for the Indian war, to the universall satisfaction of the people, who passionately desired the same; witnessed by the generall acclameations of all then in towne.

And here who can do less then wonder at the muteable and impermenent deportments of that blinde Godes Fortune; who, in the morning loades Man with disgraces, and ere night crownes him with honours: Somtimes depressing, and againe ellivateing, as her fickle humer is to smile or frowne, of which this Gent:mans fate was a kinde

* Williamsburg. See Beverly's History of Virginia. — Eds.

of an Epittemey, in the severall vicissetudes and changes he was subjected to in a very few dayes. For in the morning, before his triall, he was, in his Enimies hopes, and his Friends feares, judged for to receue the Gurdian due to a Rebell (and such hee was proclaimed to be) and ere night, crowned the Darling of the Peoples hopes and desires, as the onely man fitt in Verginia, to put a stop unto the bloody ressalutions of the Heathen: And yet againe, as a fuller manifestation of Fortune's inconstancye, with in two or three days, the peoples hopes, and his desires, were both frusterated by the Governours refusing to signe the promised Commission. At which being disgusted, though at present he desembled . . . so well as he could, (and tis supposed that w . . . he begs leaue of the Governour for to be despence . . . his servis at the Councell table, to vissit his L . . . he saide, had informed him, was indisposed, as to her . . . which request the Governour (after som contest with his owne thoughts) granted, contrary to the advise of som about him, who suspected Bacons designes, and that it was not so much his Lady's sickness, as the distempers of a troubled minde, that caused him to with draw to his owne house, and that this was the truth, with in a few days was manifested, when that he returned to Towne at the head of 500 Men in Arms.

The Governour did not want intillegence of Bacons designes, & therefore sent out his summons for Yorke Traine Bands to reinforce his gards, then at Towne. But the time was so short, (not above 12 howers warning) and those that appeared at the Randevouze made such a slender number, that under 4 Insignes there was not mustered above 100 Soulders; and not one halfe of them sure neather, and all so slugish in there march, that before they could reach towne, by a grate deale, Bacon had enter'd the same, and by force obtained a Commition, calculated to the hight of his owne desires. With which Commission, (such as it was,) being invested, hee makes redy his provissions, fills up his Companies to the designed number (500 in all) and so applies him selfe to those servises the Countrey expected from him. And, first, for y^e secureing the same from the excursions of the Indians, in his absence (and such might be expected) he commissioned severall persons, (such as he could confide in) in every respectiue county, with select companies of well armed men, to range the Forists, swomps, thickits, and all such suspected places where the Indiands might haue any shelter for the doeing of mischeife. Which proseedings of his put so much curage into the Planters, that they began to applye them selues to there accustomed imployments in there plantations: which

The Governour refuseth to signe the Commission.

Bacon disgusted.

Bacon returns to Towne at the head of 500 men, and forceath a Commission.

till now they durst not do, for feare of being knock'd on the head, as, God knowes, too many were, before these orders were observed.

While the Generall (for so was Bacon now denominated by vertue of his Commission) was sedulous in these affaires, & fitting his provisions, about the head of Yorke River, in order to his advance against the Indians; the Governour was steareing quite contrary courses. He was once more perswaded (but for what reasons not visible) to proclaime Bacon a Rebell againe. And now since his absence afforded an advantage, to raise the countrey upon him, so soone as he should returne tired and exhausted by his toyle and labour in the Indian war. For the puting this councill in execution, the Governour steps ouer into Gloster County, (a place the best replenished for men, arms, and affections of any County in Verginia,) all which the Governour summons to giue him a meeteing at a place & day assigned, where being met, according to the summons, the Governours proposalls was so much disrellished, by the wholl convention, that they all disbanded to there owne aboades, after there promise past to stand by, and assist the Governoure, against all those who should go about to rong, eather his parson, or debase his Authority; unto which promise they annex, or subioyned severall reasons why they thought it not, at present, convenient to declare them selues against Bacon, as he was now advancing against the common enemy, who had in a most barberous maner murdered som hundreds of o^r deare Breatheren and Countrey Men, and would, if not prevented by God, and the endeivours of good men, do there utmost for to cut of the wholl Collony. Therefore they did thinke that it would be a thing inconsistant with reason, if that they, in this desperate coniunture of time, should go and ingage themselves one against another; from the result of which proceedings, nothing could be expected but ruing and destruction unto both, to the one and the other party, since that it might reasonably be conceued, that while they should be exposeing there breasts against one anothers wepons, the barberous and common enemy (who would make his disadvantages [*sic*] by our disadvantages) should be upon there backs to knock out there brains. But if it should so hapen (as they did hope it would never so hapen) that the Generall after the Indian war was finished, should attempt any thing against his Hon^{rs} person or Government, that then they would rise up in arms, with a joynt consent, for the prisarvation of both.

The Governour summons in the Gloster men to the Court house.

The Glosters men's protestation.

Since the Governour could obtaine no more, he was, at present, to rest himselfe contented with this, while those who had advised him to

Bacon pro-
[cla]imed a
Tratour.

these undertakeings, was not a litle dissatisfide to finde the event not to answer there expectations. But he at present, seeing there was no more to be don, since he wanted a power to haue that don, which was esteemed the maine of the affaires, now in hand to be don, namely, the gaineing of the Gloster men, to do what he would haue don, he thought it not amiss to do what he had a power to do, and that was once more to proclame Bacon a Tratour, which was performed in all publick places of meetings in these parts. The noyse of which proc-lameation, after that it had past the admiration of all that were not acquainted with the reasons that moued his hon^r to do what he had now don, soone reached the Generall eares, not yet stopt up from lisning to apparent dangers.

This strange and unexpected news put him, and som with him, shrodely to there trumps, beleveing that a few such deales, or shuffles (call them which you please) might quickly ring the cards, and game too, out of his hand. He perceued that he was falne (like the corne betwene the stones) so that if he did not looke the better about him, he might chance to be ground to powder. He knew that to haue a certaine enimy in his frunt, and more then uncertaine friends in his reare, portended no grate security from a violent death, and that there could be no grate differance betwene his being wounded to death in his brest, with bows and Arows, or in the back with Guns and Musquit bullits. He did see that there was an abseluted necessity of destroy-ing the Indians, for the prisarvation of the English, and that there was som care to be taken for his owne and soulders safety, otherways that worke must be ill don, where the laberours are mad criples, and compeld, insteade of a sword, to betake them selues to a c[ru]tch. It vext him to the hērt (as he was heard to say) f[or] to thinke, that while he was a hunting Wolves, Tygers and Foxis, which dayly destroyed our ha[r]mless Sheep and Lamb[s,] that hee, and those with him, should be persued in the re[are], with a full crye, as a more salvage or no less rave[nous] beast. But to put all out of doubt, and himselfe into . . . gree of safety, since he could not tell but that som [whom] he had left behinde, might not more desire his de[ath,] then to here that by him the Indians were dest[royed, he] forth with (after a short consultation held with [som of his soulders]) countermarcheth his Army, and in a trice . . . with them at the midle Plantation,* a place sit[uated in the] very heart of the Countrey.

* Williamsburg. — Eds.

The first thing that Bacon fell upon (after [that he had] settled himselfe at the Middle Plantation) was [to prepare] his Remonstrance, and that as well against [the Governo]urs Paper of the 29 of May, as in answer to th[e Governours pro]clamation. Putting both papers upon these D[eclarations, he asks] Whether Parsons wholly devoted to there Kin[g and coun]treys, haters of all sinister, and by respects, am[ing on]ly at the Countreys good, and indeiouring to th[e utmost of there] power, to the haserd of there lives & fortunes, . . . destroy those that are in Arms against King & . . . that never plotted, contrived, nor indeioured . . . ion, detrement or rong of any of his Majesties [subjects, in] there lives, names, fortunes, or estates, can desarie the appellations of Rebels and Traters? He cites the wholl country to testifie his & his soulders peaceable behaviours; upbrades som in Authorety with the meanness of there parts; others, now welthey, with the meanness of there estates, when the came first in to the Country; and questions by what just ways, or meanes, they haue obtained the same; and whether they haue not bin the spunges that haue suck'd up & devoured the common tresurye? Questions what Arts, Ciences, Schooles of learning or Ma[n]ufactēres hath bin promoted by any now in Authorety? Iustifies his aversion (in generall) against the Indians; Upbrades the Governour for manetaineing there quarill (though never so unjust) against the Christians rites and intrass; His refusing to admit an English man's oath against an Indian, when that an [In]dians word shall be a sufficient prooffe against an [En]glish Man: Saith som thing against the Governour [con]cerning the Beaver trade, as not in his power to de . . . off, as being a Monopley appertaineing to the Cro[wn]: Questions whether the Traders at the heads of the . . . s do not buy & sell the blood of there deare Brther . . . untrey men: Araignes one Coll: Coles ascertainment [for sayi]ng that the English are bound to protect the Ind[ians] . . . or to the haserd of there blood; and so conclu[des] [with a]n appeale to King and Parliament, where he [has no doubt] but that his and the Peoples cause will be im[partially h]eard.

[Bacon's declaration.]

[After this manner] the Game beginns, in which (though never so . . . the one side must be, undoubtedly, losers. This . . . nce of Bacons was but the Præludum (or rath . . . e) to the following Chapter; without which the . . . t (in peoples mindes) be subject to rong interpre . . . other ways look'd upon to be, at best, but Hetro . . . he inditers good meaneing.

. . . his next worke was to invite all that had [any regar]d to them-

selues, or love to there Countrey, the . . . Children, or any other relations; to giue [him a meeting] in his Quarters, at a day named, then and the[re to consu]lt how to put the countrey in to som degree of safety, and to indevoure for to stop those imminent dangers, now thretning the destruction of the wholl Collony, through the bloody proceedings of the Indians; and (as he said) by S^r William B. doteing and ireguler actings. Desiring of them not to sit still, in this common time of callamitye, with there hands in there bosums; or as unconcer'd spectators, stand gazeing upon their approcheing ruyns, and not lend a hand to squench those flames now likely to consume them and theres to ashes.

According to the summons, most of the prime Gen^lmen in these parts, (where of som were of the Councell of State) gaue Bacon a meeteing in his quarters, at y^e assigned timē. Where being met (after a long Harange by him made, much of the nature of, and to explane the summons) he desired them to take the same so far in to there consideration, that there might, by there wisdom, som expedient [be] found out, as well for the cuntryes securitye against S^r Williams Ireguler proceedings, as that hee, and Armye, might unmollest prosecute the Indian war. Ading, that neather him selfe, nor those under his command, thought it a thing consisting with reason, or common sence, to advance against the common Enemy, and in the meane time want insureance (when they had don the worke abroad) not to haue their throtes cut, when they should return hom, by those whoe had set them to worke: being confident that S^r William and som others with him, through a sence of their unworantable actions, would do what was posible to be don, not onely to destroy himself, but others (privie to their knaovereys) now ingaged in the Indian servis with him.

After that Bacon had urg'd, what he thought meet for y^e better carying on of those affaires, now hammering in his head, it was concluded by the wholl Convention, that for y^e establishing the Generall, and Army, in a consistancy of safety, and that as well upon his march against the Indians, as when that he should returne from the servis, and also for the keepinge the Countrey in peace, in his absence, that there should be a test, or recognition, drawne, and subscribed by the wholl Countrey, which should oblige then [*sic*] and every of them, not to be aideing nor assisting to S^r Will. Berkley (for now he would not afford him the title of Governour) in any sorte, to the molestation, hinderance or detriment of the Ginerall and Army. This being as-

sented to, the Clarke of the Assembly was ordred to put the same in to forme; which while he was a doeing, the Generall would needs haue another branch added to the former, viz. That the people should not onely be obliged not to be aideing unto S^r W: B. against the Generall, but that by the force of this Recognition, they should be obliged to rise in Arms against him, if he with armed forces should offer to resist the Generall, or desturb the Countries peace, in his absence: and not onely so, but (to make the ingagement Al-a-mode [*sic*] Rebellion) he would haue it added, that if any forces should be sent out of England, at y^e request of S^r William, or other ways to his aide, that they were likewise to be aposed, till such time as the Countrys cause should be sent hom, and reported to his most Sacred Majesty.

These two last branches of this Bugbeare did marvellously startle the people, especially the very last of all, yet for to giue the Generall satisfaction how willing they were to give him all the security that lay in there power, they seemed willing to subscribe the two first, as they stood single, but not to any, if the last must be joyned with them. But y^e Generall used, or urged, a grate many reasons for the signeing the wholl ingagement, as it was presented in the three conjoynd branches, other ways no securitye could be expected, neather to the Countrey, Armye, nor himselfe: therefore he was resalued, if that they would not do, what hee did judg soe reasonable, and necessary to be don, in and about the premises, that he would surrender up his Commission to the Assembly, and let the countrey finde som other servants to goe abrode and do there worke.

For, sath he, it is to be considered, that S^r William hath allredy proclaimed me a Rebell, and it is not unknowne to himselfe that I both can, and shall charge him with no less then Treason. And it is not my selfe onely, that must and is concerned in what shall be charged against him, but severall Gent^lmen in the countrey, besides; who now are, and ever will be against his intress, and of those that shall adhere to his ilegall proceedings: of which he being more then ordnarely senceable, it cannot in common reason be otherways conceued, but that he being assisted by those forces, now implored, that they shall not be wholly employed to the destruction of all those capeable to frame an accusation against him, to his sacred Majesty. Neather can it reasonably be apprehended, that he will ever condesend to any friendly accomadation wth those that shall subscribe to all, or any part of this ingagement, unless such or such persons shall be surrendred up to his marcy, to be proceeded against, as he shall thinke fitt: and then

The Oath projected.

Bacons reasons for y^e taking the oath.

how many, or few, those may be, whom he shall make choyce of, to be sent into the tother world, that he may be rid of his feares in this, may be left to consideration.

Many things was (by many of those who were at this meeting) urged pro and con, concerning the takeing or not takeing of the ingagement:. But such was the ressalute temper of the Generall, against all reasoning to the contrary, that y^e wholl must be swallowed, or ells no good would be don. In the urging of which he used such specious and subtile pretences; som times for the pressing, and not to be despenced with necessity, in regarde of those feares the wholl Colony was subjected to through the daly murthers perpetrated by the Indians, and then againe opening the harmlesness of the Oath, as he would haue it to be, and which he manidged solely against a grate many of those counted the wisest men in the Countrey, with so much art and sophisticall dixerety, that at length there was litle said, by any, against the same: Especially when that the Guner of York Fort arived, imploringe aide to secure the same against the Indians; ading that there was a grate many poore people fled into it for protection, which could not be, unless there was som speedy course taken to reinforce the said Fort, with Munition and Arms, other ways it, and those fled to it, would go nere hand to fall in to the power of the Heathen.

The Generall was som what startled at this newes, & accordingly expostulated the same, how could it posible be that the most considerable fortris in the countrey, should be in danger to be surprised by the Indians. But being tould that the Governour, the day before, had caused all the Arms and Amunition to be conuayed out of the Fort into his owne vessell, with which he was saled forth of the Countrey, as it was thought, it is strange to thinke, what impressions this Story made upon the peoples apprehensions. In ernist this action did stager a grate many, otherways well inclined to S^r William, who could not tell what constructions to put upon it. How ever, this was no grate disadvantage to Bacons designes; he knew well enough how to make his advantages out of this, as well as he did out of the Gloster büsness, before mentioned, by frameing and stomping out to the peoples apprehensions what commentaries, or interpretations, he pleased, upon the least oversight by the Governour committed; which hee managed with so much cuning & subtillety, that the peoples minds became quickly flexible, and apt to receue any impression, or simillitude, that his Arguments should represent to there ill disarneing judgments; in so much that the Oath became now more smooth, and glib, to be swol-

lowed, even by those who had the gratest repugnancy against it; so that there was no more descorses used neather for restrictions nor enlargements; onely this salvo was granted, unto those who would clame the benifit of it (and som did soe) yet not exprest in the writen copley (viz.) That if there was any thing in the same of such dangerous consequence that might tant the subscribers Alegence, that then they should stand absalued from all and every part of the s^d oath; unto which the Generall gave his consent (and certainly he had too much cuning to denye, or gaine say it) saying God forbid that it should be other ways ment, or intended; adding that himselfe (and Armys by his command) had, som few days before taken the Oath of Alegence, therefore it could not Rationally be immagined that eather him selfe, or them, would goe about to act, or do, any thing contrary to the meaneing of the same.

Bad Ware requires a darke store, while Sleeke and Pounce inveagles the Chapmans judgment. Though the first subscribers were indulged the liberty of entering there exceptions, against the strict letter of the oath, yet others who were to take the same before the respectiue justices of peace in their severall jurisdictions, were not to haue y^e same lattitude. For the power of affording cautions, and exceptions, was solely in the imposer, not in those who should here after administer the oath, whereby the aftertakers were obliged to swallow the same (though it might haserd there choakeing) as it stood in the very letter thereof. Neather can I apprehend what benifit could posible accrew more unto those who were indulged, the fore s^d previllidg, then to those who were debard the same; since both subscribed the ingagement as it stood in the letter, not as it was in the meaneing of the subscriber. It is trew, before God and there owne conſciences, it might be pleadeable, but not at the Bar of humane proseedings, with out a favourable interpretation put upon it; by those who were to be the judges.

While Bacon was contriuing, and imposing this Illegall Oath, for to secure him selfe against the Governour, the Governour was no less sollicitous to finde out meanes to secure him selfe against Bacon. There-fore, as the onely place of securitye, within the Collony, to keep out of Bacons reach, he sales over to Accomack. This place is sequestered from the mane part of Verginia through the enterposition of the grate Bay of Cheispiock, being itselfe an Isthmus, and commonly called the Eastern shore. It is bounded on the East with the maine oacian, and on the Sowth west with the afore s^d Bay, which runs up into the countrey navigable for the biggest Ships more then 240 miles, and so

Sr W. sailes
to Acco-
mack.

consequently, not approcheable from the other parts of Virginia but by water, without surrounding the head of the s^d Bay: A labour of toyle, time, and danger, in regard of the way, and habitations of the Indians.

It was not long before Bacon was inform'd where the Governour had taken Sanctuary; neither was he ignorant what it was that moved him to do what he had don: He did all so apprehend that, as he had found the way out, he could (when he saw his owne time) finde the way in againe; and though he went forth with an emty hand he might return with a full fist. For the preventing of which (as he thought) he despach'd away one Esq^r Bland, a Gent^lman of an active and stirring disposition, and no grate admirer of S^r Williams goodness; and with him, in Commission, one Capt. Carver, a person acquainted with Navigation, and one (as they say) indebted to S^r W. (before he dyed) for his life, upon a double account, with forces in two ships, eather to block S^r William up in Accomack, or other ways to inveagle the inhabitants (thinkeing that all the countrey, like the Friere in the Bush, must needs be soe mad as to dance to there Pipe) to surrender him up in to there hands.

Bacon haueing sent Bland, and the rest, to doe this servis, once more re-enters upon his Indian march; after that he had taken order for the conveining an Assembly, to sit downe on the 4 of September, y^e Summons being Authentick'd, as they would haue it, under the hands of 4 of the Councell of State; and y^e reason of the Convention to manidge the affaires of y^e Countrey in his absence; least (as he saide) while hee went abroad to destroy the Wolves, the Foxes, in the meane time, should com and deuoure the Sheepe. Hee had not march'd many miles, from his head quarters, but that newes came post hast, that Bland and the rest with him, were snapt at Accomack; betrade (as som of there owne party related) by Capt. Carver: but those who are best able to render an account of this affaire do aver, that there was no other Treason made use of but there want of discretion, assisted by the juce of the Grape: had it bin other ways the Governour would never rewarded the servis with y^e gift of a Halter, which he honoured Carver with, sudenly after his surpriseall. Bland was put in Irons, and ill intreated, as it was saide; most of the soulders owned the Governours cause, by entering them selues in to his servis; those that refused were made prissoners, and promised a releasement at the price of Carvers fate.

The Governour being blest with this good servis, and the better servis, in that it was effected with out blood shed, and being inform'd

Bland &
Carver sent
to Accomack.

Bacon advanced
against the
Indians.

Carver taken
and hanged.

that Bacon was entred upon his Indian March, ships him selfe for the western shore, being assisted with 5 ships and 10 sloops, in which (as it is saide) was about a thousand soulders. The newes where of outstripping his canvis wings soone reach'd the eares of those left by Bacon, to see the Kings peace kep, by resisting the Kings vice gerent. For before that the Governour could get over the Water, two fugetines was got to land, sent (as may be supposed) from som in Accomack, spirited for the Generalls quarill, to inform those here, of the same principles, of the Governours strength, and upon what terms his soulders were to fight. And first they were to be rewarded with those mens estates who had taken Bacons Oath, catch that catch could. Secondly that they, and there heirs, for 21 years should be discharged from all impossition, excepting Church dues, and lastly 12 pence per day, dureing the wholl time of servis. And that it was further decreed that all Sarvants, whose masters were under the Generall Collours, or that had subscribed the ingagement, should be set free, and enjoy the fore mention'd benifits, if that they would (in Arms) owne the Governours cause. And that this was the wholl truth, and nothing but the truth, the two men be fore mention'd, deposed before Capt. Thorp one of the Iust-asses of the peace, for York County, after that one Collonell Scarsbrooke had more prudently declined the admitting these two scoundrills to the test. Whether these ffellows were in the right, or in the rong, as to what they had narated, I know not, but this is certaine, whether the same was trew, or false, it produced the effects of truth in peoples mindes; who hereby became so much distracted in there ressalutions, that they could not tell, at present, which way to turn them selues; while there tongues exprest no other language but what sounded forth feares, wishes, and execrations, as their apprehensions, or affections, dictated: All lookeing upon them selues as a people utterly undon, being equally exposed to the Governours displeasure, and the Indians bloody cruillties; Som cursing the cause of there approcheing destruction, lookeing upo the Oath to be no small ingredient, helping to fill up the measure of there Miserys: Others wishing the Generalls presence, as there onely Rock of safety, while other look'd upon him as the onely quick sands ordained to swallow up, and sinke the ship that should set them on shore, or keep them from drownding in the whirle poole of confuseion.

Sir W. ships himselfe for the western shore.

Upon what terms the Accomack-ians were to fight.

The peoples perplexed condition..

In the midst of these feares, and perturbations, the Governour ariues with his Fleet of 5 ships and 10 sloopes, all well man'd (or appear'd to be soe) before the Towne; into which the Governour sends

Sr W. arrives at Towne, Sep. 7.

his summons (it being possest by 7 or 800 Baconians) for a Rendition; with a free and ample pardon to all that would decline Bacons intruss, and owne his, excepting one Mr. Drummond and one Mr. Larance a Collonell, and both actiue promoters of Bacons designes: Which is a most apparent argument, that what those two men (before mentioned) had sworn to, was a mere pack of untruths. This his Honours Proclamation was acceptable to most in Towne; while others againe would not trust to it, feareing to meet with som after-claps of revenge: Which diverseity of opinions put them all into a ressalution of diserting the place, as not Tenable (but indeed had it bin fortifyed, yet they had no Commission to fight) while they had the liberty of so doing, before it should be wholly invested; which that night, in the darke, they put in execution, every one shifting for him selfe with no ordinary feare, in the gratest hast possible, for fere of being sent after: And that som of them was posses'd with no ordinary feare, may be manifested in Collonell Larence, whose spirits were so much distracted, at his apprehensions of being one excepted in the Governours act of grace, that he forsooke his owne Howse with all his welth and a faire Cupbord of Plate intire standing, which fell into the Governours hands the nex Morning.

The Baconians forsake the towne.

The Towne being thus forsaken, by the Baconians, his Honour enters the same the next day, about noone; where after he had rendred thanks unto God for his safe arivall (which he forgot not to perform upon his knees, at his first footeing the shore) hee applyes himselfe not onely to secure what he had got possession of, but to increace and inlarge the same to his best advantage. And knowing that the people of ould useally painted the God of war with a belly to be fed, as well as with hands to fight, he began to cast about for the bringing in of provissions for to feed his soulders; and in the next place for soulders, as well to reinforce his strength with in, as to inlarge his quarters abroad: But as the saying is, Man may propose, but God will dispose; when that his hon^r thought him selfe so much at liberty, that he might haue the liberty to go when and where he pleased, his expectations became very speedily & in a moment frusterated.

For Bacon haueing don his buisness against the Indians, or at least so much as he was able to do, haueing marched his men with a grate deale of toyle & haserd som hundreds of miles, one way and another, killing som and takeing others prissoners, and haueing spent his provissions, draws in his forces with in the verge of the English Plantations, from whence he dismiseth the gratest part of his Army to

gether strength against the next designed March, which was no sooner don but he incounters the newes of the Governours being arived at town. Of which being informed he with a marvellous cellerity (outstriping the swift wings of fame) marcheth those few men now with him (which hee had onely resarved as a gard to his parson) and in a trice blocks up the Governour in Towne, to the generall astonishment of the wholl Countrey; especially when that Bacons numbers was knowne; which at this time did not exseed aboue a hundred and fifty, and these not above two thirds at worke neather. An action of so strange an Aspect, that who ever tooke notis of it, could not chuse but thinke but that the Accomackians eather intended to receue their promised pay, without disart; or other ways to establish such signall testimonies of there cowerdize or disaffections, or both, that posterity might stand & gaze at there reched stupidity.

Bacon blocks
the Governour
up in towne.

Bacon soone perceived what easey worke he was likely to haue, in this servis, and so began to set as small an esteeme upon these mens curages, as they did upon there owne credits. Hee saw, by the Prolog, what sport might be expected in the play, and soe began to dispose of his affaires accordingly. Yet not knowing but that the paucity of his numbers being once knowne, to those in Towne, it might raise there hearts to a degree of curage, hauēing so much the ods, and that manitimes number preuales against ressalution, he thought it not amiss, since the Lions strength was too weake, to strengthen the same with the Foxes Braines: and how this was to be efected you shall heare.

For emediately he despacheth two or three parties of Horss, and about so many in each party, for more he could not spare, to bring in to the Camp some of the prime Gent: Women, whose Husbands were in towne. Where when arived he sends one of them to inform her owne, and the others Husbands, for what purposes he had brought them into the camp, namely, to be plac'd in the fore frunt of his Men, at such time as those in towne should sally forth upon him.

Bacon sends
for severall
Gent: Wo-
men in to
the camp,
and for
what.

The poore Gent: Women were mightely astonish'd at this project; neather were there Husbands voide of amazements at this subtil invention. If M^r Fuller thought it strange, that the Divells black gard should be enrouled Gods soulders, they made it no less wonderfull, that there innocent and harmless Wives should thus be entred a white garde to the Divell. This action was a Method, in war, that they were not well aquainted with (no not those the best inform'd in millitary affaires) that before they could com to pearce their enemies sides, they must be obliged to dart there wepons through there wives brest: By which

meanes though they (in there owne parsons) might escape without wounds; yet it might be the lamentable fate of there better halfe to drop by gunshott, or other ways be wounded to death.

Whether it was these Considerations, or som others, I do not know, that kep their swords in there scabards: But this is manifest, That Bacon knit more knotts by his owne head in one day, then all the hands in Towne was able to untye in a wholl weeke: While these Ladyes white Aprons became of grater force to keepe the beseiged from salleming out then his works (a pittifull trench) had strength to repell the weakest shot, that should haue bin sent into his Legūre, had he not made use of this invention.

For it is to be noted that rite in his frunt, where he was to lodge his Men, the Governour had planted 3 grate Guns, for to play poynt blank upon his Men, as they were at worke, at about 100 or a 150 paces distance; and then againe, on his right hand, all most close aborde the shore, lay the ships, with ther broade sides, to thunder upon him if he should offer to make an onslaute: this being the onely place, by land, for him to make his entrey, into the Towne: But for your better satisfaction, or rather those who you may show this Naritiue to, who haue never bin upon the place, take this short description.

The descrip-
tion of Iames
Towne.

The place, on which the Towne is built, is a perfict Peninsulla, or tract of Land, all most wholly incompast with Water. Haueing on the Sowth side the River (Formerly Powhetan, now called Iames River) 3 miles brode, Incompast on the North, from the east point, with a deep Creeke, ranging in a cemicircle, to the west, with in 10 paces of the River; and there, by a smalle Istmos, tacked to y^e Continent. This Iseland (for so it is denominate) hath for Longitud (east and west) nere upo 2 miles, and for Lattitude about halfe so much, beareing in the wholl compass about 5 miles, litle more or less. It is low-ground, full of Marches and Swomps, which makes the Aire, especially in y^e Sumer, insalubritious & unhelty: It is not at all replenish'd with springs of fresh water, & that which they haue in ther Wells, brackish, ill sented, penurious, and not gratefull to y^e stumack; which render the place improper to indure the commencement of a seige. The Towne is built much about the midle of the Sowth line, close upon the River, extending east and west, about 3 quarters of a mile; in which is comprehended som 16 or 18 howses, most as is the Church, built of Brick, faire and large; and in them about a dozen ffamilles (for all the howses are not inhabited) getting there liveings by keepeing of ordnaries, at exstreordinary rates.

The Governour understanding that the Gent: Women, at the Le-
gure, was, by order, drawne out of danger, resalued, if posible, to
beate Bacon out of his trench; which he thought might easely be
performed, now that his Gardian Angles had forsaken his Camp. A salley
made upon
Bacon.
For the efecting of which he sent forth 7 or (as they say) 800 of
his Accomackians, who (like scholers goeing to schoole) went out with
hevie harts, but returnd hom with light heeles; thinkeing it better
to turne there backs upon that storme, that there breasts could not in-
dure to struggle against, for feare of being gauled in there sides, or
other parts of there bodys, through the sharpness of the wether; which
(after a terable noyse of thunder and lightning out of the Easte) began
to blow with a powder (and som leade too as big as musquitt boolitts)
full in there faces, and that with so grate a violence, that som off them
was not able to stand upon there leggs, which made the rest betake
them selues to there heeles; as the onely expedient to save there lives;
which som amongst them had rather to haue lost, then to haue own'd
there safty at the price of such dishonourable rates.

The Governour was exstremly disgusted at the ill management of
this action, which he exprest in som passionate terms, against those
who merited the same. But in ernist, who could expect the event to
be other ways then it was, when at the first notis given, for the de-
signed salley to be put in execution, som of the officers made such
crabed faces at the report of the same, that the Guner of Yorke Fort
did proffer to purchase, for any that would buy, a Collonells, or a Cap-
tains, Commission, for a chunke of a pipe.

The next day Bacon orders 3 grate Guns to be brought into the
Camp, two where of he plants upon his trench. The one he sets to
worke (playing som calls itt, that takes delight to see stately structur
beated downe, and Men blowne up into the aire like Shutle Cocks)
against the Ships, the other against the enterance into Towne, for to
open a pasage to his intended Storm, which now was resalued upon as
he said, & which was prevented by the Governours forsakeing the
place, and shiping himselfe, once more to Accomack; takeing along
with him all the Towne people, and there goods, leaveing all the grate
Guns naled up, and the howses emty, for Bacon to enter at his pleas-
ure, and which he did the next morning before day: Where, contrary
to his hopes, he met with nothing that might satisfie eather him selfe
or soulders desires, except few Horsses, two or three sellers of wine,
and som small quantety of Indian Corne with a grate many Tan'd
hides.

The Govern-
our leaves
Towne.

The Governour did not presently leaue Iames River, but rested at an Ancor som 20 miles below the Towne, which made Bacon entertaine som thoughts, that eather hee might haue a desire to re-enter his late left quarters, or return and block him up, as he had S^r William. And that there was som probabilitie S^r W. might steare such a course was news from Potomack (a province within the North Verge of Verginia) that Collonell Brent was marching at the head of 1000 Soulders towards Towne in vindication of the Governours quarill. The better to prevent S^r Williams signes (if he had a desire to returne) and to hinder his Coniunction with Brent (after that he had consulted with his Cabinett Councell) he in a most barberous maner converts y^e wholl Towne into flames, cinders and ashes, not so much as spareing the Church, and the first that ever was in Verginia.

Bacon sets
the Towne
on fire.

Haueing performed this Flagitious, and sacrilidgious action (which put the worst of Sperits into a horid Consternation, at so in-humane a fact) he marcheth his men to the Greene spring (the Governours howse soe named) where haueing stade (feasting his Army at the Governours Cost) two or 3 days, till he was inform'd of S^r Williams Motion, he wafts his soulders over the River, at Tindells point, in to Gloucester County: takeing up his head quarters at Collonell Warners; from whence hee sends out his Mandates, through the wholl County, to give him a Meeting at the Court howse; there to take the ingagement, that was first promoted at the Midle Plantation: for as yet, in this County, it was not admited. While he was sedulously contriveing this affaire, one Cap^t Potter arives in post haste from Rapahanock, with news that Coll: Brent was advanceing fast upon him (with a resalution to fight him) at the head of a 1000 men, what horss what foote, if hee durst stay the commencement. Hee had no sooner red the Letter, but hee commands the Drums to beate, for the gathering his soulders under there Collours; which being don hee acquaints them with Brents numbers and resalutions to fight, and then demands theres; which was cherefully answered in the affirmetive, with showtes and acclamations, while the Drums thunders a March to meet the promised conflict. The Soulders with abundance of cherefullness disburthening them selues of all impediments to expedition, order, and good decipling, excepting there Oathes, and Wenches: the first where of they retain'd in imitation of there Commanders; the other out of pitty to the poore whores; who seeing so many Men going to kill one another, began to feare that if they staide behinde, for want of doing they might be undone [(] there being but a few left at hom, excepting ould men, to sett

Goes over
into Gloster.

Bacon re-
salues to
fight Brent.

them on worke,) and so chose rather to dye amongst the soulders, then to be kep from there labour, and so dye for want of exercize. Besides they knew if fortune cast them into there enimys hands, they had nothing to be plundred of but there honisty; and that, as too grate a burthen, and not fitt to be worn in a Camp they had left at hom, thereby to be found the more light, and fit for the servis they were destinated to. And then againe they had heard a pritty good carrecter of Brent, and they could not tell but that all or most of his Men might be as good as him selfe; so that let the world go which way it would (Stand still with Ptolomye, or turne rownd like a whorlegigg with Copernicus) they were likely to com of with a saveing cast, the being onely to change there Masters, not the trade they were bound prentis to.

Bacon had not marched above 2 or 3 days journey (and those but short ones too, as being loth to tire his Laberours before they came to there worke) but he meets news in post hast, that Brents Men (not soulders) were all run away, and left him to shift for him selfe. For they haueing heard that Bacon had beate the Governour out o'th Towne they began to be afeard (if they should com with in his reach) that he might beat them out of there lives, and so resalued not to come nere him. Collonell Brent was mightily astonish'd at the departure of his followers, saying that they had forsaken the stowtest man, and ruing'd the fairest estate in Verginia; which was by there cowerdize, or disaffections, expos'd to the mercy of the Baconians. But they being (as they thought) more obliged to looke after their owne concernes & lives, then to take notis, eather of his vallour, or estate, or of there owne Credits, were not to be rought upon by any thing that he could do, or say; contrary to there owne fancies.

This buisness of Brents haueing (like the hoggs the devill sheard) produced more noyse then wooll, Bacon, according to the Summons, meets the Gloster men at the Court howse: where appeard som 6 or 7 hundred horss and foot, with there Arms. After that Bacon, in a long Harage, had tendred them the ingagement (which as yet they had not taken, and now was the onely cause of this Convention) one Mr Cole offered the sence of all the Gloster men, there present: which was sum'd up in there desires, not to haue the oath imposed upon them, but to be indulged the benifitt of Neutralitie: But this he would not grant, telling off them, that in this there request they appear'd like the worst of sinners, who had a desire to be saved with the righteous, and yet, would do nothing whereby they might obtaine there salvation; and so

Brents men
forsake him.

The oath
tendred to
the Gloster
Men.

offering to go away, one Coll: Gouge (of his party) calls to him and tould him, that he had onely spoke to the Horss (meaneing the Troopers) and not to the foote. Bacon, in som passion, replide, he had spoke to the Men, and not to the Horss; haueing left that servis for him to do, because one beast best would understand the meaneing of Mr. Wading, another. And because a minister, one Mr. Wading, did not onely refuse to take the Ingagement, but incouraged others to make him there example, Bacon committed him to the Gard; telling off him that it was his place to Preach in the Church, not in the Camp: In the first he might say what he pleased, but in the last, he was to say no more then what should please him; unless he could fight to better purpose then he could preach.

Mr. Wading,
a Minister,
imprisson'd.

Bacon de-
signes to goe
to Accomack.

The Gloster men haueing taken the ingagement, (which they did not till another meeteing, and in another place) and all the worke don on this side the Western Shore, Bacon thought it not a miss, but worth his labour, to go and see how the Accomackians did. It must be confest that he was a Gent:man of a Liberall education, and so consequently must be replenish'd with good maners, which inables, and obligeth all civell parsons both to remember, and repay, receued curses: which made him not to forget those kindenesses the Accomackians bestow'd, in his absence, on his friends, and there neighbours, the Verginians: and so now he resalued (since he had nothing ells to do) for to go and repay there kinde hearted vissitt. But first he thought good to send them word of his good meaneing, that they might not pleade want of time, for want of knowledg, to provide a reception answerable to his quallety, and attendance. This was pritty faire play, but really the Accomackians did not halfe like it. They had rather his Hon^r would haue had the patience to haue staid till he had bin invited, and then he should haue bin much more wellcom. But this must not hinder his jurnye; if nothing ells enterveine they must be troubled, with a troublesom guest, as well as there neighbours had bin, for a grate while together, to their exstreordinary charge, and utter undoeing. But there kinde, and very mercyfull fate, to whom they, and their Posteritye, must ever remane indebted, observeing there cares and feares, by an admireable, and ever to be cellibrated providence, removed the causes. For

Bacon haueing for som time, bin beseiged by sickness, and now not able to hould out any longer; all his strength, and provissions being spent, surrendred up that Fort he was no longer able to keepe, into the hands of that grim and all conquering Captaine, Death; after that he

Bacon dyes
October 18.

had implor'd the assistance of the above mentioned Minister, for the well making his Artickles of Rendition. The onely Religious duty (as they say) he was observ'd to perform dureing these Intregues of affaires, in which he was so considerable an actor, and soe much con-searn'd, that rather then he would decline the cause, he be came so deeply ingaged in, in the first rise there of, though much urged by arguments of dehortations, by his nearest Relations and best friends, that he subjected him selfe to all those inconveniences that, singly, might bring a Man of a more Robust frame to his last hom. After he was dead he was bemoned in these following lines (drawne by the Man that waited upon his person, as it is said) and who attended his Corps to there Buriall place: But where deposited till the Generall day, not knowne, onely to those who are ressalutly silent in that particuler. There was many coppes of Verçes made after his departure, calculated to the Lattitude of there affections who composed them; as a relish taken from both appetites I haue here sent you a cuple.

Bacons Epitaph, made by his Man.

DEATH why soe crewill! what no other way
To manifest thy spleene, but thus to slay .
Our hopes of safety; liberty, our all
Which, through thy tyranny, with him must fall
To its late Caoss? Had thy riged force
Bin delt by retale, and not thus in gross
Griefe had bin silent: Now wee must complaine
Since thou, in him, hast more then thousand slane
Whose lives and safetys did so much depend
On him there lif, with him there lives must end.
If't be a sin to thinke Death brib'd can bee
Wee must be guilty; say twas bribery
Guided the fatall shaft. Virginias foes
To whom for secret crimes, just vengeance owes
Disarved plague, dreading their just disart
Corrupted Death by Parasscelcian art
Him to destroy; whose well tride curage such,
There heartless harts, nor arms, nor strength could touch.
Who now must heale those wounds, or stop that blood
The Heathen made, and drew into a flood?
Who i't must pleade our Cause? nor Trump nor Drum
Nor Deputations; these alas are dumb.
And Cannot speake. Our Arms (though nere so strong)
Will want the aide of his Commanding tongue,
Which Conquer'd more than Ceaser: He orethrew
Onely the outward frame; this Could subdue

The rugged workes of nature. Soules repleate
 With dull Child could, he'd annemate with heate
 Drawne forth of reasons Lymbick. In a word
Marss and *Minerva*, both in him Concurd
 For arts, for arms, whose pen and sword alike
 As *Catos* did, may admiration strike
 In to his foes; while they confess with all
 It was there guilt stil'd him a Criminall.
 Onely this differance doth from truth proceed
 They in the guilt, he in the name must bleed
 While none shall dare his *Obseques* to sing
 In disarv'd measures; untill time shall bring
 Truth Crown'd wth freedom, and from danger free
 To sound his praises to posterity.

Here let him rest; while wee this truth report
 Hee's gon from hence unto a higher Court
 To pleade his Cause: where he by this doth know
 WHETHER TO CEASER HEE WAS FRIEND, OR FOE.

Vpon the Death of G: B.

WHETHER to Ceaser he was Friend or Foe?
 Pox take such Ignorance, do you not know?
 Can he be Friend to Ceaser, that shall bring
 The Arms of Hell, to fight againt the King?
 (Treason, Rebellion) then what reason haue
 Wee for to waite upon him to his Grave,
 There to express our passions? Wilt not bee
 Worss then his Crimes, to sing his Ellegie
 In well tun'd numbers; where each Ella beares
 (To his Flagitious name) a flood of teares?
 A name that hath more soules with sorow fed,
 Then reched Niobe, single teares ere shed;
 A name that fil'd all hearts, all eares, with paine,
 Untill blest fate proclaimed, Death had him slane.
 Then how can it be counted for a sin
 Though Death (nay though my selfe) had bribed bin,
 To guide the fatall shaft? we honour all
 That lends a hand unto a T[r]ators fall.
 What though the well paid Rochit soundly ply
 And box the Pulpitt, in to flatterey;
 Urging his Rethorick, and straind elloquence,
 T' adorne incoffin'd filth and excrements;
 Though the Defunct (like ours) nere tride
 A well intended deed untill he dide?
 'Twill be nor sin, nor shame, for us, to say
 A two fould Passion checker-workes this day

Of Ioy and Sorow ; yet the last doth move
 On feete impotent, wanting strength to prove
 (Nor can the art of Logick yeild releife)
 How Ioy should be surmounted, by our greife.
 Yet that wee Gīve it cannot be denide,
 But 'tis because he was, not cause he dide.
 So wep the poore destressed, Ilyum Dames
 Hereing those nam'd, there Citty put in flames,
 And Country ruing'd ; If wee thus lament
 It is against our present Ioyes consent.
 For if the rule, in Phisick, trew doth prove,
 Remove the cause, th' effects will after move,
 We haue outliv'd our sorows ; since we see
 The Causes shifting, of our misery.
 Nor is't a single cause, that's slipt away,
 That made us warble out, a well-a-day.
 The Braines to plot, the hands to execute
 Projected ills, Death Ioyntly did nonsute
 At his black Bar. And what no Baile could save
 He hath committed Prissoner to the Grave ;
 From whence there's no repreive. Death keep him close
We haue too many Divells still goe loose.

Ingrams Proceedings.

The Lion had no sooner made his exitt, but the Ape (by indubitable right) steps upon the stage. Bacon was no sooner removed by the hand of good providence, but another steps in, by the wheele of fickle fortune. The Countrey had, for som time, bin guided by a company of knaves, now it was to try how it would behave it selfe under a foole. Bacon had not long bin dead, (though it was a long time be fore som would beleive that he was dead) but one Ingram (or Isgrum, which you will) takes up Bacons Commission (or ells by the patterne of that cuts him out a new one) and as though he had bin his natureall heire, or that Bacons Commission had bin granted not onely to him selfe, but to his Executors, Administraters and Assignes, he (in the Millitary Court) takes out a Probit of Bacons will, and proclames him selfe his Successer.

Ingram
takes up Ba-
cons Com-
mission.

This Ingram, when that he came first into the Countrey, had gott upon his Back the title of an Esquire, but how he came by it may pussell all the Herolds in England to finde out, u[n]till he informs them of his right name : how ever, by the helpe of this (and his fine capering, for it is saide that he could dance well upon a Rope) he caper'd him

selfe in to a fine (though short liv'd) estate: by marying, here, with a rich Widow, vallued at som hundreds of pounds.

Proclaimed
Generall.

The first thing that this fine fellow did, after that he was mounted upon the back of his Commission, was to Spur, or Switch, those who were to pay obedience unto his Authorety, by geting him selfe proclaimed Generall of all the forces, now raised, or here after to be raised, in Verginia: Which while it was performing at the head of the Army, the Milke-sop stooode with his hatt in his hand, lookeing as demurely as the grate Turks Muftie, at y^e readeing som holy sentance, extracted forth of the Alchiron. The Bell-man haueing don, he put on his hat, and his Ianessarys threw up there Caps; crying out as lowde as they could Bellow, God save our new Generall, hoping, no dout, but he, in imitation of the grat Sultaine, at his election, would haue enlarged there pay, or ells haue given them leave to haue made Iewes of y^e best Christians in the Countrey: but he being more than halfe a jew him self, at present forbad all plundrings, but such as he him selfe should be parsonally at.

Beverly
takes
Hansford

It was not long before the Governour (still at Accomack) had intimation of Bacons death. He had a long time bin shut up in the Arke (as we may say) and now thought good to send out a winged Messenger to see, if happely, y^e Delluge was any whit abated; and whether any dry-ground emerg'd its head, on which, with safety, he might sett his foot, without danger of being wetshod in blood, which accordingly he effected, under the command of one Mā Beverly: a parson calculated to the Lattitude of the Servis, which required descretion, Cūrage, & Celerity, as qualetys wholly subservant to millitary affares: And all though he returnd not with an Olive branch in his Mouth, the Hyroglyph of peace, yet he went back with the Laurell upon his browes, the emblim of Conquest and tryumph, haueing snapt up one Coll: Hansford, and his party, who kep garde, at the Howse where Coll: Reade did once live. It is saide that Hansford, at (or a litle before) the onslaut, had forsaken the Capitole of Marss, to pay his oblations in the Temple of Venus; which made him the easēre preay to his enemies; but this I haue onely upon report, and must not aver it upon my historicall reputation: But if it was soe, it was the last Sacryfize he ever after offred at the Shrine of that Luxurious Diety, for presently after that he came to Accomack, he had the ill luck to be the first Verginian borne that dyed upon a paire of Gallows. When that he came to the place of Execution (which was about a Mile removed from his prisson) he seemed very well resalued to undergo the utmost mallize

of his not over kinde Destinie, onely Complaineing of the maner of his death: Being obserued neather at the time of his tryall (which was by a Court Martiall) nor afterwards, to suplicate any other faviour, then that he might be shot like a Soulder, and not to be hang'd like a Dog. But it was tould him, that what he so passionately petitioned for could not be granted, in that he was not condem'd as he was merely a Soulder, but as a Rebelle, taken in Arms against the King, whose Laws had ordaind him that death. Dureing the short time he had to live, after his sentance, he approved to his best advantage for the well fare of his soule, by repentance and contrition for all his Sinns, in generall, excepting his Rebelellion, which he would not acknowledg; desireing the People, at the place of execution, to take notis that he dyed a Loyall Subject, and a lover of his Countrey; and that he had never taken up arms, but for the destruction of the Indians, who had murthered so many Christians.

Hansford
Executed.

The buisness being so well accompish'd, by those who had taken Hansford, did so raise there Spirits, that they had no sooner deliver'd there Freight, at Accomack, but they hoyse up there sailes, and back againe to Yorke River, where with a Marvellous celerity they surprise one Major Cheise-Man, and som others, amongst whom one Cap^t Wilford, who (it is saide) in the bickering lost one of his eyes, which he seem'd litle concern'd at, as knowing, that when he came to Accomack, that though he had bin stark blinde, yet the Governour would take care for to afford him a guide, that should show him the way to the Gallows. Since he had promised him a hanging, long before, as being one of those that went out with Bacon, in his first expedition against the Indians, without a Commission.

Cheiseman
and Wilford
surpri[sed]
by Beverly.

This Cap^t Wilford, though he was but a litle man, yet he had a grate heart, and was knowne to be no Coward. He had for som yeares bin an Interpreter betwene the English and the Indians, in whose affaires he was well acquainted, which rendred him the more acceptable to Bacon, who made use of him all along in his Indian War. By birth he was the Second Son of a K^t, who had lost life and estate in the late Kings quarill, against the surnamed long Parliament, which forst him to Verginia (the onely Citty of Refuge left in his Majesties dominians, in those times, for destressed Cavallers) to seeke his fortunes, which through his industerey began to be considerable, if the kindness of his fate had bin more perminent, and not destin'd his life to so reched a death. Major Cheiseman, before he came to his triall, dyed in prisson, of feare, Greife, or bad useage, for all these are

Cheiseman
dies in
prisson.

reported: and so by one death prevented another more dreadfull to flesh and blood.

There is one remarkeable passage reported of this Major Cheismans Lady, which because it sounds to the honour of her Sex, and consequent[ly] of all loveing Wives, I will not deny it a roome in this Narratiue.

Ms Cheis-
mans grate
affections for
her husband.

When that the Major was brought in to the Governor^s presence, and by him demanded, what made him to ingage in Bacons designs? Before that the Major could frame an Answer, to the Governours demand; his Wife steps in and tould his hon^r that it was her provocations that made her Husband joyne in the Cause that Bacon contended for; ading, that if he had not bin influenc'd by her instigations, he had never don that which he had don. Therefore (upon her bended knees) she desired of his hon^r, that since what her Husband had don, was by her meanes, and so, by Consequence, she most guilty, that shee might be hang'd, and he pardon'd. Though the Governouer did know, that what she had saide, was neare to the truth, yet he saide litle to her request, onely telling of her that she was a W——. But his hon^r was angrey, & therefore this expression must be interpreted the effects of his passion, not his meaneing: For it is to be understood in reason, that there is not any Woman, who hath soe small affection, for her Husband, as to dishonour him by her dishonisty, and yet retaine such a degree of love, that rather then he should be hang'd, shee will be content to submit her owne life to the Sentance, to keep her husband from y^e Gallows.

A kinde
Wife.

Capt^t Farlow
executed.

Capt^t Carver & Capt. Farlow was now (or about this time) Executed, as is before hinted. Farlow was related to Cheisman, as he had married Farlows Neice. When that he went first into the servis (which was presently after that Bacon had receued his Commission) he was Chosen Commander of those recrutes sent out of Yorke County, to Make up Bacons Numbers, according to the Gage of his Commission, limited for the Indian Servis; and by S^r William (or som one of the Councell) recommended to Bacon, as a fitt parson to be Commander of the saide party. These terms, by which he became ingaged, under Bacons Commands, he urged in his pley, at his triall: Ading, that if he had, in what he had don, denyed the Generalls orders, it was in his power to hang him, by the judgment of a Court Martiall; and that he had acted nothing but in obedience to the Generalls Authority. But it was replide, against him, that he was put under Bacons command for the servis of the Countrey, against the Indians,

which imploy he ought to haue kep to, and not to haue acted by yond his bounds, as he had don: And Since he went into the Army under the Governours orders, he was required to Search the Same, and see if he could finde one that Commissionated him to take up Arms in opposition to the Governours Authority and parson: Neather had Bacon any other power, by his Commission (had the same bin never so legally obtained) but onely to make war upon the Indians. Farlow rejoyned, that Bacon was, by his Commission, to see that the Kings peace was kep, and to Suppress those that should indeiour to Perturbe the same. It was reply'd, this might be granted him, and he might make his advantage of it, but was required to consider, whether the Kings peace was to be kep in resisting the Kings emediate Governour, soe as to levy a War against him; and so commanded him to be silent, while his sentance was pronounced. This man was much pittied by those who were aquainted with him, as one of a peaceable dispoosition, and a good scholer, which one might thinke should haue inabled him to have taken a better estimate of his imployment, as he was aquainted with the Mathamaticks: But it seems the Asstrolabe, or Quadrant, are not the fittest instruments to take the altitude of a Subjects duty; the same being better demonstrated by practicall, not Speculatiue observations.

The nimble, and timely servis, performed by Major Beverly (before mentioned) haueing opened the way, in som measure, the Governour once more sallyeth out for the Western Shore, there to make triall of his better fortune; which now began to cast a more favourable Aspect upon him and his affaires; by removeing the maine obstickles out of the way, by a Death, eather Natureall, or violent, (the one the ordnary, the other the exstreordinary workings of providence) which had with such pertinances, and violent perstringes, aposed his most Auspicious proceedings. The last time he came, he made choyce of James River; now he was resalued to set up his Rest in Yorke, as hauein the nearest Vicinety to Gloster County (the River onely enterposeing betwene it and Yorke) in which, though the Enimy was the strongest (as desireing to make it the Seate of the Warr, in regard of severall locall covenencies) yet in it he knew that his friends was not the weakest, whether wee respect number, or furniture. It is trew they had taken the ingagement (as the rest had) to Bacon; but hee being dead, and the ingagement being onely personall, was lade in the Grave with him; for it was not made to him selfe, his heires, Executors, administrater, and Assignes; if other ways, it might haue bin

St Will. removes to
Yorke River.

indued with a kinde of immortalty; unless the Sword, or juster (or grater) power might hapen to wound it to death. But, how ever Bacon being Dead, and with him his Commission, all those, who had taken the ingagement, were now at liberty to go and chuse them selues another Master.

But though his hon^r knew that though they were discharged from the bindeing power of the oath, yet they were not free from the Commanding power of those Men that was still in Arms, in persuance of those ends for which the ingagement was pretended to be taken: And that before this could be effected, those Men must first be beaten from there Arms, before the other could get there heeles at liberty, to do him any servis. Therefore he began to cast about how he might remove those Blocks which stooode in the Gloster Mens way: which being once don, it must take away all Pretences, and leave them with out all excuse, if they should offer to sitt still, when he, and his good providence together, had not onely knock'd off there shackles, but eather imprisson'd there Iaylers, or tide them up to the Gallows.

He had with him now in Yorke River 4 Shipps besides 2 or 3 Sloopes. Three of the Ships he brought with him from Accomack: the other (a Marchantman, as the rest were) was som time before arived out of England, and in these about 150 Men, at his emediate command; and no more he had when he came into Yorke River: Where being settled in Consultation with his friends, for the Manageing of his affaires, to the best advantage; he was informed that there was a party of the Baconians (for so they were still denominated, on that side, for destinction sake) that had settled them selues in there winter quarters, at the howse of one M^r Howards, in Gloster county.

For to keepe these Vermin from breeding, in there warme Kenill, he thought good, in time, for to get them ferited out. For the accomplishment of which peice of servis, he very secritley despacheth away a select number under the Conduct of Major Beverly, who very nimblely performed the same, haueing the good fortune (as it is saide) to catch them all a sleepe. And least the Good man of y^e Howse should forgett this good servis, that Beverly had don him, in removeing his (to him) chargable guess, with these sleepers, he convayes a good quantity of there Landlords goods aborde: the Baconians (where of one a Leif^t Collonell) to remane prissoners, and the goods to be devided amongst those whose servis had made them such, according to the Law of Arms; which Howard will haue to be the Law of HARMS, by placing the first letter of his name before the vowill A.

The strength
Sr Will.
had, at his
coming to
York.

Beverly sur-
priseth Coll:
Harris in
Gloster.

But in ernist (and to leave jesting) Howard did really thinke it hard measure, to see that go out of his store, by the Sword, which he intended to deliver out by the Ell, or yard. Neather could his Wife halfe like the Markitt; when she saw the Chapmen carey her Daughters Husband away Prissoner, and her owne fine Cloathes goeing into Captivity; to be sould by Match and pin; and after worne by those who (before these times) was not worth a point; Yet it is thought, that the ould Gent: Woman, was not so much concern'd that her Son in Law was made a prissoner, as her Daughter was vext, to see they had not left one Man upon the Plantation, to comfort, neather herself nor Mother.

This Block (and no less was the Commander of the fore mention'd sleepers) being removed out of the way, the Gloster Men began to stir abroad: Not provoked thereto out of any hopes of geting, but through a feare of loseing. They did plainely perceue that if they them selues did not goe to worke, sombody ells would, while they (for there negligence) might be compeld to pay them there wages; and what that might com to they could not tell, since it was probable, in such Servises, the Laberours would be there owne Carvers; and it is commonly knowne, that Soulders makes no Conscience to take more then there due.

The worke that was now to be don, in these parts (and further I cannot go for want of a guide) was cut out into severall parcells, according as the Baconians had devided the same. And first At Wests Point (an Isthmos which gives the Denomination to the two Rivers, Pomunkey and Mattapony (Indian Names) that branch forth of York River, Som 30 Miles above Tindells point) there was planted a garde of about 200 Soulders. This place Bacon had designed to make his prime Randevouze, or place of Retreat, in respect of severall locall Convenencis, this place admitted off, and which hee found fitt for his purpose, for sundry reasons. Here it was, I thinke, that Ingram did cheifely reside, and from whence he drew his recruts, of Men and Munition. The next Parcell, considerable, was at Green-spring (the Governours howse) into which was put about 100 Men, and Boys, under the Command of on Cap^t Drew; who was ressalutely bent (as he sade) to keep the place in spite of all opposition, and that he might the better keepe his promise he caused all the Avenües, and approaches to the same, to be Baracado'd up, and 3 grate Guns planted to beate of the Assalents. A third parcell (of about 30 or 40) was put in to the Howse of Collonell Nath: Bacons (a Gent: Man related to him deceased,

The Gloster men rise for Sr W.

What soulders at West Point.

At Greene Spring.

At Coll. Bacon's.

but not of his principles) under the Command of one Major Whaly, a stout ignorant Fellow (as most of the rest) as may be seene here after; these were the most considerablest parteys that the Gloster Men were to deale with, and which they had promised to reduce to obedience, or other ways to beate them out of there lives, as som of them (perhaps not well aquainted with Millitary affairs, or too well conseated of there owne vallour) bosted to doe.

The Parson that, by Commission, was to perform this worke, was one Major Lawrence Smith (and for this servis so intituled, as it is saide) a Gent: Man that in his time had hued out many a knotty peice of worke, and soe the better knew how to handle such rugged fellowes as the Baconians were famed to be.

The place for him to Congregate his men at (I say Congregate, as a word not improper, since his second, in dignity, was a Minister, who had lade downe the Miter and taken up the Helmett) was at one Major Pates (in whose Howse Bacon had surrendred up both Life and Commission; the one to him that gaue it, the other to him that tooke it) where there apeared men enough to haue beaten all the Rebels in the Countrey, onely with there Axes and Hoes, had they bin led on by a good overseer.

I haue eather heard, or haue read, That a Compleate Generall ought to be owner of these 3 induments: Wisdom to foresee, Experience to chuse, and Curage to execute. He that wants the 2 last, can never haue the first; since a wise Man will never undertake more then he is able to perform; He that bath the 2 first, wanting the last, makes but a lame Commander; since Curage is an inseperable Adjunct to the bare name of a Soulder, much more to a Generall: He that wants the second, haueing the first & the last, is no less imperfict then the other; since without experience, wisdom and curage (like yong Docters) do but grope in the darke, or strike by gess.

Much about the time that the Gloster Men Mustred at M. Pates, there was a riseing in Midle sex, upon the same account: Who were no sooner gott upon ther feet, but y^e Baconians resalues to bring them on there knees. For the efecting of which Ingram speeds away one Walklett, his Leif^t Generall, (a Man much like the Master) with a party of Horss, to do the worke. M. L. Smith was quickly inform'd upon what arend Walklett was sent, and so, with a Generous ressalution, resalues to be at his heeles, if not before hand with him, to helpe his friends in there destress. And because he would not all together trust to others, in affaires of this nature, he advanceth at the head of

The proper-
ties of a good
Generall.

A riseing in
Midlesex.

Walklett
sent to sup-
press it.
Smith
marches af-
ter Walklett.

his owne Troops, (what Horss what Foote for number, is not in my intillegence) leaveing the rest for to fortify Major Pates howse, & so speeds after Walklet who, before Smith could reach the required distance, had performed his Worke, with litle labour, and (hereing of Smiths advance) was preparing to giue him a Reception answerable to his designements: Swareing to fight him though Smith should out number him Cent per cent; and was not this a dareing ressalution of a Boy that hardly ever saw Sword, but in a Scaberd?

In the meane time that this buisnes was a doeing, Ingram understanding upon what designe M. L. Smith was gon about, by the advice of his officers strikes in betwene him and his new made (and new mand) Garisson at M. Pates. He very nimbly invests the Howse, and then summons the Soulders (then under the command of the fore said Minester) to a speedy rendition, or otherways to stand out to Mercy, at there utmost perill. After som toos and froes about the buisness (quite beyond his text) the Minester accepts of Such Articles, for a Surrender, as pleased Ingram, and his Mermidons, to grant.

Ingram takes the Gloster Men at M. Pates.

Ingram had no sooner don this jobb of jurnye worke (of which he was not a litle proud) but M. L. Smith (haueing retracted his March out of Midle-sex, as thinkeing it litle less then a disparagement to haue any thing to doe with Walklett) was up on the back of Ingram, before he was aware, and at which he was not a litle daunted, feareing that he had beate Walklett to peices, in Midlesex. But he perceueing that the Gloster Men did not weare (in there faces) the Countinances of Conquerers, nor there Cloathes the marks of any late ingagement (being free from the honourable Staines of Wounds and Gun shott) he began to hope the best, and the Gloster men to feare the worst; and what the properties of feare is, let Feltham tell you, who saith, That if curage be a good Oriter, feare is a bad Counceller, and a worss Ingineare. For insteade of erecting, it beates and batters downe all Bullworks of defence: perswadeing the feeble hart that there is no safety in armed Troops, Iron gates, nor stone walls. In opposi-tion of which Passion I will appose the Properties of it's Antithesis, and say That as som men are never vallent but in the midst of dis-course, so others never manifest there Courage but in the midst of danger: Never more alive then when in the jawes of Death, crowded up in the midst of fire, smoke, Swords and gunns; and then not so much laying about them through despareation, or to saue there lives, as through a Generosety of Spirit, to trample upon the lives of there erimies.

M. G. Smith retracts his March from Walklett.

Major Bristow
chall: to
Ingram.

For the saving of Pouder and Shott (or rather through the before mentioned Generosety of Curage) one Major Bristow (on Smiths side) made a Motion to try the equity, and justness of the quarill, by single Combett: Bristow proffering him selfe against any one (being a Gentl) on the other side; this was noble, and like a Soulder. This Motion (or rather Challenge) was as redely accepted by Ingram, as proffer'd by Bristow; Ingram Swearing, the newest Oath in fashion, that he would be the Man; and so advanceth on foot, with sword and Pistell, against Bristow; but was fetch'd back by his owne men, as douteing the justness of there cause, or in Consideration of the desparety that was betwene the two Antagonist. For though it might be granted, that in a private Condition, Bristow was the better man, yet now it was not to be alowed, as Ingram was intitled.

The Gloster
men submitt
to Ingram.

This buisness not fadging, betwene the two Champions, the Gloster men began to entertaine strange, and new Ressalutions, quite Retrogade to there pretentions, and what was by all goodmen expected from the promising aspects of this there Leagueing against a usurping power. It is saide that a good Cause and a good Deputation, is a lawfull Authorety for any Man to fight by; yet neather of these, joyntly nor Severally, hath a Coercive power, to make a Man a good Soulder: If he wants Courage, though he is inlisted under both, yet is he not starling quoyne: he is at best but Coper, stompt with the Kings impress, and will pass for no more then his just vallew. As to a good Cause, doutless, they had Satisfied themselves as to that, ells what were they at this time a Contending for, and for whom? And as for a good Deputation, if they wanted that, where fore did they so miserably befoole them selves, as to run in to the mouths of there enimies, and there to stand still like a Company of Sheep, with the knife at there throtes, and never so much as offer to Bleat; for the saving of there lives, liberties, Estates, and what to truly vallient men is of grater vallew then these, there Creditts? all which now lay at the Mercy of there enimies, by a tame surrender of there Arms, and Parsons in to the hands of Ingram (with out Strikeing one Stroke) who haueing made all the cheife Men prissoners (excepting those who first run away) he dismist the rest to there owne abodes, there to Sum up the number of those that were eather slane or wounded, in this Servis.

Farrill at-
temps the
Baconians
under
Whaly's
Command.

Much about this time, of the Gloster buisness, his hon^r sends abroad a party of Men, from off aboarde, under the Command of one Hubert Farrill, to fferitt out a Company of the Rebels, who kep Gard at Coll. Bacons, under the power of Major Whaly, before mentioned. Coll.

Bacon himselfe, and one Coll: Ludwell, came along with Farrill, to see to the Management of the enterprise; about which they tooke all possible care, that it might prove fortunate. For they had no sooner resalued upon the onsett, but they consult on the Maner, which was to be effected by a Generossety paralell with the designe; which required Curage, and expedition: and so concludes not to answer the Centreys by fireing; but to take, kill, or drive them up to there Avenues, and then to enter pell mell with them in to the howse: this Method was good had it bin as well executed, as Contrived. But the Centrey had no sooner made the Challenge, with his mouth, demanding who Coms there? but the other answer with there Musquits (which seldom Speakes the language of friends) and that in soe loud a Maner, that it alarum'd those in the howse to a defence, and then in to a posture to salley out. Which the other perceueing (contrary to there first orders) wheeles of from the danger, to find a place for there securitytie, which they in part found, behinde som out buildings, and from whence they fired one upon the other, geiving the Bullits leave to grope there owne way in the dark (for as yet it was not day) till the Generall was shot through his loynes; and in his fate all the soulders (or the grater part) through there hearts, Now sunke in to there heels which they were now makeing use of instead of there hands, the better to saue there jackits, of which they had bin Certainly Stript, had they Com under there enimies fingers, who knowes better how to Steale then fight, not with-
Farrill kild.

standing this uneven Cast of Fortunes Mallize. Being a Conflict, in which the losers haue cause to repent, and the winers Faith to giue God thanks; unless with the same devotion Theives do when that they haue stript honist Men out of there Mony. Here was none but there Generall kild, whose Commission was found dropping-wett with his owne blood, in his poekitt; and 3 or 4 taken prisoners; what wounded not knowne, if any, in there backs; as there enimies say; who glory'd more in there Conquest then ever Scanderbeg did, for the gratest victory he ever obtained against the Turkes. If S^r Williams Cause were no better then his fortunes, hither to, how many prossellites might his disasters bring over to the tother side? but God forbid that the justice of all quarills should be estimated by there events.

Yet here in this action (as well as som other before) who can chuse but deplore the strange fate that the Governour was subjected to, in the evill choyce of his cheife-commanders, for the leadeing on his Military transactions; that when his cause should com to a day of heareing, they should want Curage to put in there play of defence, against

there Adverssarys arguments; and pittifully to stand still and see themselues nonsuted, in every sneakeing adventure, or Action, that cal'd upon there Generossety, (if they had had any) to vindicate there indubitable pretences against a usurped power.

It is trew Whalys Condition was desperate, and hee was resalved that his Curage should be conformable & as desperate as his Condition. He did not want intilligence how Hansford, and Som others, was sarved at Accomack; which made him thinke it a grate deale better to dye like a Man, then to be hang'd like a Dogg; if that his Fate would but give him the liberty of picking as well as he had taken the liberty of stealeing; of which unsoulder-like quallety he was fowly guilty. But let Whaleys condition be never so desperate, and that he was resalud to Manage an opposition against his Assalent according to his condition, yet those in the Howse with him stooede upon other terms, being two thirds (and the wholl exseeded not 40) prest into the Servis, much against there will; and had a grater antipethy against Whaly then they had any cause for to feare his fate, if he, and they too, had bin taken. As for that Objection, that Farrill was not, at this time, fully cūred of those Wounds he receved in the Salley at Towne, which in this action proved detrimentall both to his strength and curage: Why then (if it was so) did he accept of this imploy (he haueing the liberty of refuseing) since none could be better acquainted with his owne Condition (eather for Strength or Courage) better then him selfe? Certainly in this particuler, Farills foolish ostentation was not excuseable, nor S^r William with out blame, to Complye with his ambition, as he had no other parts to prove himselfe a Soulder, then a haire brain'd ressalution to put him selfe forward in those affaires he had no more acquaintance with then what he had heard people talke off; For the falure of this enterprise (which must wholly be refer'd to the breach he made upon their sedulous determinations) which was (as is intimated before, to croude in to the Howse with the Centrey) was not onely injurious to there owne party, by leting slip so faire an occasion, to weaken the power of the enemy, by removeing Whaly out of the way, who was esteemed the Most Considerablest parson on that side; but it was, and did prove of bad cosequence to the adjacent parts, where he kep gard: For where as before he did onely take ame where he might do mischeife, he now did mischeife with out takeeing ame: before this unhapie conflict, he did levie at this, or that particuler onely, but now he shott at Rovers, let the same lite where it would he matter'd nott.

Capt: Grantham had, now, bin som time in Yorke River. A man unto

whom Verginia is very much beholden for his neate contrivance in bringing Ingram (and som others) over to harken to reason. With Ingram he had som small acquaintance, for it was in his Ship that he came to Verginia; and so resalued to try if he might not doe that by words, which others could not accomplish wth Swords. Now all though he knew that Ingram was the Point, where all the lines of his contrivance were for to Center, yet he could not tell, very well, how to obtaine this point. For all though he did know that Ingram, in his private Condition, was accostable enough; yet since the Tit Mouse (by one of Fortunes figaryes) was becom an Elliphant, he did not know but that his pride, might be as immense as his power: since the Peacock (though bred upon a Dung-hill) is no less proud of his fine fethers then the princely Eagle is of his noble curage. What Arguments Grantham made use of, to ring the Sword out of Ingrams hand, to me is not visible, more then what he tould me of; which I thinke was not Mercuriall enough, against an ordnary Sophester. But to speake the truth, it may be imagin'd that Grantham (at this time) could not bring more reasons to Convince Ingram, then Ingram had in his owne head to Convince him selfe; and so did onely a wate som favourable overtures (and such as Grantham might, it is posible, now make) to bring him over to the tother side. Neather could he apprehend more reason in Granthams Arguments, then in his owne affaires, which now provok'd him to dismount from the back of that Horss which he wanted skill, and strength, to Manidge; especially there being som, of his owne party, wateing an opertunity to toss him out of the Sadle, of his new mounted honours; and of whose designes he wanted not som intilligence, in the Countinances of his Mermidons; who began for to looke a skew upon this, there Milk-sopp Generall; who they judged fitter to dance upon a Rope, or in som of his wenches lapps, then to caper, eather to Bellonies Bagpipe, or Marsses whisle.

But though Ingram was won upon, to turn honist, in this thing (thanks to his necessitie, which made it an act of Compulsion, not a free will offering) yet was the worke but halfe don, untill the Soulders were wrought upon to follow his example. And though he him selfe, or any body ells, might command them to take up there Arms, when any mischeife was to be don: yet it was a question whether he, or any in the Countrye, could command them to lay downe there Arms, for to efect or do any good. In such a case as this, where Authority wants power, descretion must be made use of, as a vertue Surmounting a brutish force. Grantham, though he had bin but a while in the Coun-

tre, and had scene but litle, as to mater of Action, yet he had heard a grate deale; and So Much that the name of Authority had but litle power to ring y^e Sword out of these Mad fellows hands, as he did perceue. And that there was more hopes to efect that by smoothe words, which was never likely to be accomplish'd by rough deeds; there fore he resalued to accoste them, as the Divell courted Eve, though to a better purpose, with never to be performed promises: counting it no sin to Ludificate those for there good, that had bin deceued by others to there hurt. He knew that Men were to be treated as such, and Children according to there childish disposissions: And all though it was not with both these he was now to deale, yet he was to observe the severall tempers of those he was to worke upon.

Grantham at
West Point.

What number of Soulders was, at this time, in Garrison at West Point, I am not Certane: It is saide about 250, sum'd up in freemen, searvants and slaues; these three ingredience being the Composition of Bacons Army, ever since that the Governour left Towne. These was informed (to prepare the way) two or three days before that Grant-ham came to them, that there was a treaty on foote betwene there Generall, and the Governour; and that Grantham did manely promote the same, as he was a parson that favoured the cause, that they were contending for.

Upon what
terms West-
Point was
surrendered.

When that Grantham arived, amongst these fine fellowes, he was receued with more then an ordnary respect; which he haueing repade, with a suteable deportment, he acquaints them with his Commission, which was to tell them, that there was a peace Concluded betwene y^e Governour and there Generall; añ since him self had (in som measures) used his indeviours, to bring the same to pass, hee beg'd of the Governour, that he might haue the hon^r to com and acquaint them with the terms; which he saide was such, that they had all cause to rejoyce at, then any ways to thinke hardly of the same; there being a Compleate satisfaction to be given (by the Articles of agreement) according to every ones particuler intress; which he sum'd up under these heads. And first, those that were now in Arms (and free Men) under the Generall, were still to be retained in Arms, if they so pleased, against the Indians. Secondly, And for those who had a desire for to return hom, to there owne abodes, care was taken for to haue them satisfide, for the time they had bin out, according to the allowance made the last Assembly. And lastly, those that were sarvants in Arms, and behaued them selues well, in there employment, should emediately receve discharges from there Indentures, signed by the Governour, or

Sequetary of State ; and there Masters to receue, from the publick, a valluable Satisfaction, for every Sarvant, so set free (Marke the words) proportionally to the time that they haue to serve.

Upon these terms, the Soulders forsake West-Point, and goe with Grantham to kiss the Governours hands (still at Tindells point) and to receue the benifitt of the Articles mentioned by Grantham ; where when they came (which was by water, them selues in one vessill, and there Arms in another ; and so contrived by Grantham, as he tould me him selfe, upon good reason) the Sarvants and Slaves was sent hom to there Masters, there to stay till the Governour had leasure to signe there discharges ; or to say better, till they were free, according to the Custom of the Countrey, the rest was made prissoners, or entertain'd by the Governour, as hee found them inclin'd.

Of all the obstickles, that hath, hither to, lane in the Governours way, there is not one (which hath falne with in the Verge of my intilligence) that hath bin removed by the Sword ; excepting what was performed under the Conduct of Beverly : How this, undertaken by Grantham, was effected, you haue heard ; though badly (as the rest) by me Sum'd up. The next, that is taken notis of, is that at Greene Spring (before hinted) under the Command of one Cap^t Drew, formerly a Miller (by profession) though now Dignifide with the title of a Cap^t and made Governour of this Place by Bacon, as he was a person formerly behoulden unto S^t William ; and soe, by way of requiteall, most likely to keepe him out of his owne Howse. This Whisker of Whorly-Giggs, perceueing (now) that there was More Water coming downe upon his Mill, then the Dam would hould, thought best in time, to fortifye the same, least all should be borne downe before he had taken his toule. Which haueing effected (makeing it the strongest place in the Country what with grate and small Gunns) he stands upon his gard, and refuseth to Surrender, but upon his owne terms ; Which being granted, he secures the place till such time as S^t William should, in parson, com and take possession of the same : And was not this pritely, honestly, don, of a Miller.

The gratest difficulty, now to be performed, was to remove Drummond and Larance out of the way. These two Men was excepted out of the Governours pardon, by his Proclamation of Iune last, and severall papers since, and for to dye without Marcy, when ever taken : as they were the cheife Incendiarys, and promoters to, and for Bacons Designes ; and by whose Councells all transactions were, for the grater part, managed all along on that Side. Drummond was formerly Gov-

Greene
Spring]
secured for
S^t William.

Short career
of Drum-
mond &
Larance.

ernour of Carolina, and all ways esteemed a Parson of such induments, where Wisdom and honisty, are contending for supriority; which rendered him to be one of that sort of people, whose dementions are not to be taken, by the line of an ordnary Capasety. Larance was late one of the Assembly, and Burgis for Towne, in which he was a liver. He was a Parson not meanelly acquainted with such learning (besides his natureall parts) that inables a Man for the management of more then ordinary imployments, Which he subjected to an eclips, as well in the transactings of the present affaires, as in the darke imbraces of a Blackamoore, his slaue: And that in so fond a Maner, as though Venus was cheifely to be worshiped in the Image of a Negro: or that Buty consisted all together in the Antiphety of Complexions: to the noe meane Scandle, and affrunt, of all the Vottrisses in or about towne.

Drummond
& Coll.
Larance at
the Brick-
howse, in
New-Kent.

When that West point was surrendred, and Greene Spring secur'd, for the Governour, these two Gent^l was at the Brick-howse, in New Kent: a place Situate allmost oppossitt to West point, on the South side of York River, and not 2 Miles removed from the said point, with som Soulders under there Command; for to keepe the Governours Men from landing on that Side; he haueing a Ship, at that time, at Ancor nere the place. They had made som attempts to have hindred Granthams designs (of which they had gain'd som intilligence) but there indeiours not fadging, they sent downe to Coll. Bacons to fetch of the Gard there, under the Command of Whaley, to reinforce there owne strength.*

Whaly was quickly won to obay the commands of his Masters, especially such in whose servis he might expect to receue good Wages: forth with drawing ou[t] his Men, amongst whom was Som Boys, all laden with the goods, and last remanes of Coll. Bacons Estate, an[d] with all posible Speed (after a March of 30 Miles,) joyne[d] with Larance; where they Mustred in all (besides (Co[n]cubines and Whores, Whaley haueing added his to the r[est?]) about 300 Men and Boys. With which number, being [too] weake for to desend downe in to the heart of the Coun[trey,] (now clear'd of the Baconians, or possesst by the other [par]ty) they march up higher in to New Kent, as far [as] Coll: Gouges, thinking (like the snow ball) to incr[ease by] there rouleing. But finding that in stead of increas[ing] there number decreast; and that the Moone of there fortune was now past the full, they broke up how[se-]keeping, every one shifting for him selfe, as his

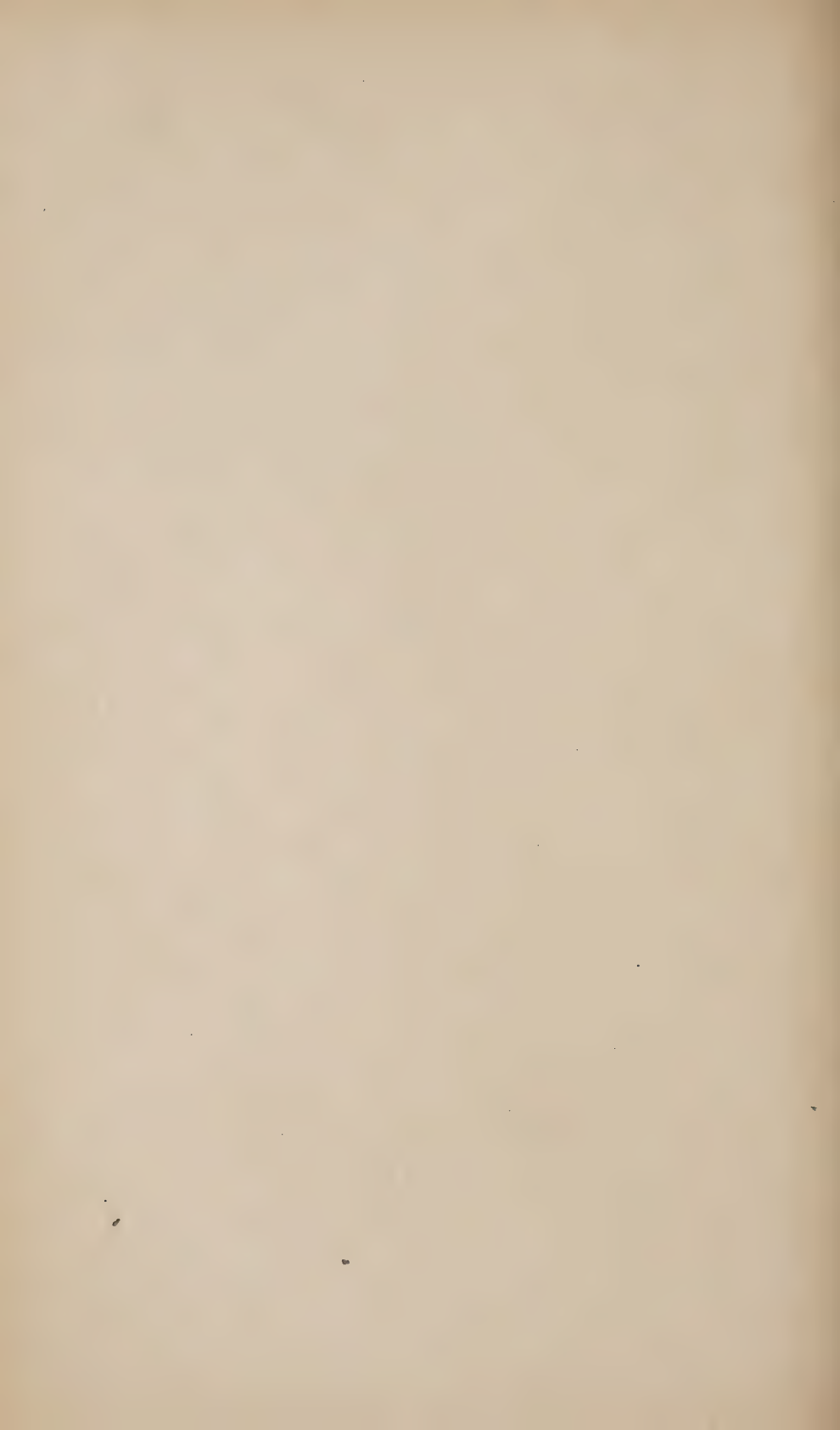
* The first edition of this narrative ends here. — Eds.

ta[ste?] or feares directed; Whaly and Larance makein[g a] cleare escape; but which way, or to what place, not knowne. Coll. Gouge and the rest, went to there own[e?] Howses, from whence they were brought upon there [tri]all, aborde a Ship, at Tindells point; and from thence ([all] that were condem) [*sic*] sent to the place of Execution. [A]mongst which (of those that Suffer'd) were one M^r H[all] Clarke of New Kent Court; a parson of Neate Ingenuo[us] parts, but adicted to a more then ordinary prying in[to] the Secrits of State affaires, which som yeares las[t pa]st, wrought him in to the Governours [dis]pleasure. A[nd] which (tis posible) at this time was [not] forgott, [but] was lade to his charge upon his tria[ll] which w[as] by a Court Martiall) to me is not visa[ble?] He nev[er hav]ing appear'd as a Soulder publickly, [yet] was co[n]demn'd to be hang'd with 3 others (by Coll: [Bacons?]'s howse, [viz.] Major Page, (once My Sarvant, at his [fir]st coming [into] the Countrey, Cap^t Yong, and one [Harris] . . . riall to Bacons Army.

This execution being over, the Govern[our] began to be wery of the Water: and findeing that he be[g]an to gether Strength, resalues to go a shore. There w[as] Considerable Cordialls administred to him, in litle more then a weekes [ti]me, which he found had don him a grate deale of [g]ood; the Surrender of Wests point, Green spring, & [t]he death of the fore Mentioned Men. The place where [he] went on Shore, was at Coll: Bacons; now clear'd [of] the Rebels, by the hapey removeall of Whally, after [he] had (by the aideing helpe of his party) devovered [no] less then 2000 pounds (to my certaine knowl-edge) [of] Coll. Bacons estate; the grater part in Store goods. [Here] he meets with M^r Drummond, taken the day be[fore] in New Kent, where he had absconded, ever since [th]e brakeing up howse keeeping at Coll: Gouges. The [Govern]our . . . a more then ordinary gladness for to [see h]im, which (as he saide) did him more good then y^e [sigh]t of his owne Brother. If the Governour was soe [glad] to see Drummon, Drommon was no less sad to see [his h]on^r the sight of whom (with out the help of an As[trol]egre) might inform him what death he should [die,] and that he had not many days to live. That night [he] was sent aborde a Ship in Irons; while the Governo^r [re-]moved, the next day, in his Coach, to M^r Brays: a [jour]nye of some 5 Miles. The next day after, being Sater[day,] Drummond was, by a party of Horss (who receu[ed him] at Coll: Bacons) conveyed to his tryall: In his way [thi]ther he complained very much that his Irons hurt [him], and that his fine Cloake (as he called it, a green- . . . for

the H[a]ngman had taken his fur'd Coate from [him,] (a bad presage) did much hinder him in his way. [When?] proffer'd [a h]orss, to ride, he refused, and sade he [would] com to . . . e to his port before he was preparte [wi]th his Anc[hor]: ading that he did very much feře [S: Wil]liam w[ould] not al[low h]im time to put of his dir[ty cl]othes b[efore] he went to lye downe upon his ev[en]ing b[e]d. [He s]aide, welcom be the grace of God, for [it would clea]nse him from all his filth and pollution. He ex[pressed] abundance of thankes for being permitted to res[t hi]m selfe upon the Roade, while he tooke a pipe of Tobacco. He discoursed very much, with that parson who comm[anded] his gard, concerning the late troubles, affirming that he was wholly innoscent of those . . .

[CÆTERA DESUNT.]



APPENDIX
TO
THE BELKNAP PAPERS.

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SINCE the publication of these two volumes of Belknap Papers, in 1877, copies of the following letters from Dr. Belknap to Mr. Hazard have been sent to the Society by Mr. Willis P. Hazard of West Chester, Pa., and are here inserted in this new issue of the volumes.

C. D.

JANUARY 20, 1882.

APPENDIX.

JEREMY BELKNAP TO EBENEZER HAZARD.

DOVER, March 31, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR,—Last week I sent you the copy of a form for proposals, in consequence of your very kind offer. I forgot then to add, though perhaps you will think of it without my mentioning it, that, as my London letters are forwarded, and perhaps arrived before now, the scheme of printing by *numbers*, which you seemed to approve, will not do ; because by that means Mr. Longman will not have the *exclusive* privilege, if he chooses to accept it.

I leave it to your judgment to fix the price. I never had the idea of *binding* any greater number than what particular subscribers should desire ; but I hope you will adopt the mode of stitching in boards, like the collection of the constitutions which you sent me. This is better than the method of stitching with an *awl* and thread, as our printers do here.

Did you ever, in observing the Aurora Borealis, perceive a *sound*? I own I once looked on the idea as frivolous and chimerical, having heard it at first from persons whose credulity I supposed exceeded their judgment. But upon hearing it repeatedly, and from some others whom I thought judicious and curious, I began to entertain an opinion in favor of it. I was strengthened in

this opinion about 2 years ago, by *listening* with attention to the flashing of a luminous arch which appeared in a calm frosty night, when I thought I heard a faint rustling noise, like the brushing of silk. Last Saturday evening I had full auricular demonstration of the reality of this phenomenon. About 10 o'clock the hemisphere was all in a glow ; the vapor ascended from all points, and met in a central one at the zenith, all the difference between the south and north points of the heavens [being] that the vapor did not begin to ascend so near the horizons in the south as in the north. There had been a small shower, with a few thunder-claps and a bright rainbow in the afternoon, and there was a gentle western breeze in the evening, which came in flaws with intervals of 2 or 3 minutes. In these intervals I could plainly perceive the rustling noise, which was easily distinguishable from the sound of the wind, and could not be heard till the flaw had subsided. The flashing of the vapor was extremely quick, whether accelerated by the wind I cannot say ; but from that quarter where the greatest quantity of the vapor seemed to be in motion the sound was plainest, and this, during my observation, was the eastern. The scene lasted about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, though the whole night was as light as when the moon is in the quarters. May not this vapor be among the number of those instruments which the Creator has prepared to bring the heavens and earth into that volcanic state which I said something about in one of my late letters ?

Did you ever meet with the law by which the witches were hanged ? I have a printed copy of it among the acts of the Massachusetts General Court passed in the *wise* administration of Sir William Phips, *alias* Dr. Mather, and it is so curious as to deserve a place in your collection. If you have it not, I will send it to you.

This day we are to have a town-meeting, to see whether we will accept the Constitution. The inattention of the people to this very important matter is so great that I thought it my duty yesterday to preach from those words, Judges 19, 30: *Consider of it, take advice, and speak your minds.*

Mrs. Belknap is very poorly with a cough. It is of the whooping kind, the same which prevails now among children. She desires her respects to you.

Your very sincere friend and humble servant,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

PORTSMOUTH, April 15, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your answer about Lady Bountiful, and, I might add, Lady Fruitful, gave me much diversion. You are obliged to my good friend Captain Waldron for that account of her and the query which was on the margin.

Last evening I got yours of 26th ultimo, and cannot but feel a satisfaction in having contributed to the entertainment of yourself and your worthy friend Ulysses. I think your criticism on "All Scripture," &c., is very just. The other text, "Savior of all men, especially," &c., is particularly noticed and applied in Dr. C.'s manuscript, much in the same manner that you have applied it.

The controversy has in some measure subsided at Boston, having produced about a dozen pamphlets, great and small. Among the rest, Brother Eccley has distinguished himself as a fair and honest disputant, though on the Hopkinsian plan. Our friend, the Plain Doctor's, performance I have not seen. I imagine and hope that

nothing further will appear on the side of the Restitution until the *Pudding* (as Dr. Ch——y calls his book) shall come forth *totis viribus*, but it must be sent to Europe to be printed.

There is an act preparing, if not done, at Boston, chiefly by the influence of Mr. Dwight, late tutor at Yale, now member of General Court and a preacher at Charlestown, similar to that in Connecticut, in favor of literary property. I would put such a thing forward here if anybody would join. Perhaps when the other States have done it we may think it best to be in the fashion, though if it is not done I should run no risque of being printed upon in New Hampshire, while Dominie Fowle superintends the press. He is no genius for enterprise. If you should have a copy of the Connecticut or Pennsylvania act (when passed) to spare, I should be much obliged by the sight of it.

Mrs. Belknap is better than when I wrote before, and I apprehend her cough will go off like that of the children, which is abated. The Metropolitan and his lady, at whose house I write this are well; but she has had a sorrowful confinement this winter. Her child died in the parturition, a circumstance which I was not acquainted with when I mentioned the matter to you, and she was ill a long time.

The first chapter of my history is transcribed for the press; the rest will be as soon as I can get time, and it shall be sent whenever or in what proportion you shall think best.

I am, my dear sir, your much

obliged friend and servant,

JER. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, April 25, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR,— You are well acquainted with the sentiments I entertain of the character of that illustrious chief whom Providence has raised up and supported to add a peculiar dignity to the noble struggle in which America has been obliged to engage in support of her rights and liberties. If anything could add to my veneration for him, it is the announcement contained in the “Freeman’s Journal” of April 2, wherein he appears, by his conduct respecting the grievances of the army, a singular instance of that *heroic virtue* so much boasted of among the old Greeks and Romans. What a contrast to Cromwell, who, placed in the same circumstances, made use of his vast ascendancy over the army to overturn the constitution which they had taken up arms to preserve! How happy to be born and live in an age which has produced so excellent a man!

But to business. You want a specimen of the style of my History to print with the Proposals. If the MS. was completely copied you should have it to pick a portion where you best like it. I have only the first chapter fit to send, and that I now cover to you. The rest shall follow as fast as it can be got ready. I think it not prudent to part with it out of my hands without keeping such a copy as I might depend upon in case any accident should befall the part which is gone from me. It may be that an author may not be the best judge what portion of his performance would serve for a specimen. But as you cannot *now* have the whole, you may either take a part of the 1st chapter or the conclusion of the 10th, which I will transcribe, and which I think may come in with propriety after the small note which I put into my

form of proposals, concerning the "early struggles and sufferings of New Hampshire." The chapter of which it is the conclusion contains a very long account of a bloody and distressing war of ten years, viz. from 1689 to 1698. If you think this too long for a specimen, you had better take some portion of the 1st chapter, for I do not well see how it can be abridged.

I have been encouraged to hope that when the subscription papers are handed along some gentlemen will advance their pay at the time of subscribing. This, if it can be done, will enable me to make you some remittance very early, which I would wish to do, lest your generosity to me should prove in any degree troublesome to yourself. I must beg the favor of you to let me know the exact amount of every article of expence as it arises, and if you think it proper to have any formal obligation from me, please to dictate the form, and it shall be executed immediately.

Since I wrote last, I have had opportunity for a cursory reading of the Plain Doctor's piece. I always liked him better in the character of a clergyman than in any other which he ever assumed; and I think this piece does him as much credit as any of his publications; he has certainly thumbed his lexicons laboriously, and said some things very well. But in my humble opinion, the point is not to be settled by criticism. It requires a large, generous, candid examination of those 2 great works of the same author, the Book of Nature and the Book of Revelation. They are the best comments on each other, and must not be studied separately.

After a more mature consideration of the propriety of prefixing my conjectures on the population of America to my history, I think I am inclined to omit it, for these reasons: 1. Because, though I can truly say they are with respect to me *original*, *i. e.* I did not adopt them

from others, yet I find, on examination, that some other writers have had thoughts of a like turn, particularly *Hornius*, so that it cannot be regarded by men of letters as anything *new*. 2. Because some of the universal *expressions* on which I lay great stress are differently understood, and will not be admitted by gentlemen of another way of thinking as sufficient foundation for an agreement. It might also draw me into the vortex of the present controversy, in which I do not wish to make any figure. 3. Because, it not being a general History of America, the thoughts are not necessarily connected with my subject, and though a candid friend might indulge me the liberty of offering my conjectures, yet perhaps they would hardly pass among critical reviewers.

We have at last got the news of peace from Charles Thomson, and some of our good *friends* would not believe it till it came under his hand! Does not this peace bring Britain down to her proper level, and, by cutting her off from Continental connexions, reduce her to the state in which the Stuart family would always have kept her, knowing she was but an island. Ah my friend, does it not illustrate the Scripture? does it not prove her one of the broken toes of Nebuchadrezzar's image, an incoherent mixture of iron and clay? I assure you the thought of this has been for several years a great support to my mind, and even in the height of our distresses, in the spring of 1777, I ventured a sermon on the subject, which was intended to comfort the sorrowful and confirm the doubting. I was then persuaded that, however the war should end, we, once disunited, should never be again restored to our connexion with her.

What miserable beings are the Tories! True sons of Cain, they must wander forlorn, exposed to the hatred and contempt of mankind. But I am sorry to see the fiery spirit against them break out so suddenly in a Boston

town-meeting, before Congress have performed the engagement entered into by the Provisional Treaty and the States have deliberated upon it. I cannot say that I wish the poor wretches here again, nor would I advise them to come, if they might, for I am persuaded their lives would not be safe; but let the matter pass regularly through the proper forms, and not the mob assume government.

Could you forbear smiling when reading the treaty with Spain, to see the *et ceteras* annexed to the Count D'Aranda's name,

“ Stuck o'er with titles, strung round with strings ” ?

I could not but recollect an anecdote I have somewhere met with of one of those Castilian *grandees* who, being benighted on a journey, called late at a French inn for a lodging. The host enquired who was there, upon which he began to tell over his names and titles, but before he had done the Frenchman shut his window, telling him that he had not room enough in his house to accommodate *so many* gentlemen, and that they must go elsewhere.

Mrs. B. is much better than when I wrote before. She thanks you for your kind remembrance of her, and gives you her cordial salutations. How long do you intend to remain “ *conjugii nescius* ? ” and shelter yourself under the example of Stoughton ?

If your affairs will not permit your visiting these parts, I must submit, though I know no person whose company would afford me more pleasure. Your kind attention to my entertainment and to my interest must fix my grateful and affectionate esteem of so worthy a friend; and I am, my dear sir,

Unfeignedly and largely yours,

J. BELKNAP.

P.S. If you have a mind for the contents of the several chapters, you have them along with the extract from chapter 10.

I can fully depend on your not suffering the manuscript to go out of your hands till it is put to the press, before which it is probable I shall hear from London. When a sheet is printed you will send, by the post, one to me, and, if I should make an agreement with Longman, one to him; but of this you will have further advice.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

MONDAY, July 19, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have not (the weather having been wet and much rain for several days) been able to get any intelligence from the post-office since the last post day, so have nothing very particular to say at this time, excepting that I expect (if my company arrive) to set out this afternoon for the White Mountains, as I mentioned in my last week's letter. If I should go and come well, you will probably hear largely from me at the end of a fortnight from this date.

Inclosed you have a letter for General Washington, which you will be so kind as to forward, with one (decently bound) copy of my History, and please to let him know that it comes through your hands.

Mrs. B. and my family are well. Please to give our respects to Mrs. Hazard, and believe me

Your affectionate friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

PORTSMOUTH, August 6, 1784.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND, — Last Saturday I returned from my journey, in which I encompassed the White Mountains and partly ascended the highest, which, being in an angle of 45° , proved rather too fatiguing for my thorax, and, after labouring for 2 hours, I was obliged to leave my company to pursue the ascent, which they accomplished in about 3 hours more. The particulars of the rest of my tour I shall give you another time.

I have this day found 3 letters from you in this town, and one I received just as I was setting out on my journey. You will excuse my not saying anything in particular in answer to them till I get home. If I can write per next post I will, but am loth to leave this town without saying something to so good a friend.

If I were of the mind of an old gentleman whom I once knew, I should *congratulate* you on the “friendly earnest of four score,” of which you complain; but I have not such an opinion of long life in this world as some people are fond of entertaining and I know enough of the pains you have experienced, to think you would be pleased with a congratulation. Patience and flannel, my good friend, will do more than anything, and, from my own experience, I can tell you that a piece of lean raw beef applied to the hands and feet when hard swelled, and shifted every 12 hours, will soften the skin and help the exudation of the morbid matter. But I hope, before this reaches you, you will be past needing this help.

May Heaven spare your child, or, if taken away, grant you the comfort of believing that the promise of salvation extends to it, — notwithstanding all that Adam and Eve did.

Mrs. B. was well this morning, and freely joins in cordial respects to you and Mrs. Hazard.

I am ever yours,

JER. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, August 26, 1784.

MY DEAR WORTHY AND GOOD SIR,—I had nothing from you last week. I have finished the Memoir to the Society, which I told you I had begun, and it is here inclosed. Should there be any motion to make it public in any form, I must beg you to use your influence that it may not, being intended as a part of my 2d volume.

My worthy and good friend and companion on my late journey, the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Ipswich, merits highly in the literary way; he is a member of the Boston Academy, and a very active and useful one. If he does not belong to that of Philadelphia, he richly deserves an election; and, if it were not too assuming in me to recommend him, I certainly would do it.

I wish you would let me know the exact name or quality of the paper on which you write your letters, that I may get some of the same.

Mrs. B. desires her love to Mrs. Hazard. I am, with cordial respects to you both,

Your friend and humble servant,

JERE. BELKNAP.

If you see anything in the inclosed that needs correction, I beg you would take the pains to make it.

In the note subjoined to the Memoir, where I say "some samples of rock-chrystal have been found," please to add the word *lately*; because it is mentioned in my History that some such were found *formerly*.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, August 30, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 16th instant came to hand this morning. 'T is as you thought. I never entertained the least idea of insuring the books; and you will not wonder at it when you consider that I never had the least concern in the matters of trade, any further than spending money when I had it. But your words are ambiguous, — “I think it will be prudent to insure.” If you mean for *you* to insure in my behalf, it is doubtless already done; and as I have full confidence in your judgment and fidelity in all matters of meum and tuum, I not only acquiesce in it, but am much obliged to you for it. But if you mean prudent for *me* to insure them, I am at a non plus; for 15 days are elapsed, in which time the vessel may probably have arrived, and in that case the affair is at an end. If she is not arrived, as there has been no stormy weather (though some rainy) within that period, and it will probably be two or three days more before I can send to Boston, it will have an odd look for me to insure *now*. It will look as if I thought the vessell was lost, and wanted to save myself at the expense of the undertakers, — I mean underwriters. In this non-plus I have no friend at hand who understands such matters to advise with; therefore I must, for my own present ease of mind, put such a construction on your letter as will agree with the first proposition, and, confiding in the rectitude of your intentions and the sincerity of your concern for my interest, must attribute the ambiguity of your expression to the ill state of your health, of which I am informed by the 1st sentence in your letter, and have additional evidence in the alteration of the handwriting, which, however, is not so great

as would have been the case with me if I had had a visit from my old acquaintance, the rheumatic fever. Lest you should think that my hand at this time is out of order, I would advertise you that the cause of my writing so ill is that I lent my penknife to Mrs. B. about 3 hours ago, and she has gone on a visit to Rochester, and I suppose has carried it with her, for I cannot find it. I wish and pray for the restoration of your health. If it was not *wicked*, I could almost wish that you might be *obliged* to take a journey northward, that so I might have the pleasure of seeing you, for my mother's illness will certainly prevent my journeying while it continues.

You have informed me of 613 copies sent to Boston, part of which are for Portsmouth. Please also to let me know how many more were printed; and if Mr. Aitken has not sent his account before this reaches you, pray let it be forwarded as speedily as possible.

I hope before now you have got my *first* letter, containing 3 such sheets as this. Two more such packets are on the road, in which you will have as much of the White Mountains as a sick man can bear. With cordial salutations to Mrs. Hazard, I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate and obliged friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

P.S. I rejoice most sincerely to hear that your son is recovered. When you have recovered too, as I trust you will after the dog-day heats are over, my joy will be complete. 'Tis good, however, my friend, to have these cuffs and rubs; they make us more sensible of the value of health. This, as well as all our enjoyments, are heightened by contrasts.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

SUNDAY EVENING, September 12, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of 30th ultimo came to hand yesterday, by which I find that your weakness of nerves continues. I know how to pity you. Your inward man is strong enough, though your hand flutters when you write. You will gather strength by degrees, and you must *husband* it well; and this word *husband* leads to an idea which, without any shandyizing, ought to be attended to, — *nam in gremio Veneris sunt multa pericula, et ægroti cavere debent*. I write as Solomon did his Book of Ecclesiastes, — “ab Experientia.” . . .

The books are arrived at Boston and Portsmouth. I shall expect some of them here to-morrow. Please to let Mr. A. know that Mr. Hastings in unpacking them (for they were put in a damp store at Boston, and he was afraid of damage); found 500 in boards, 100 bound, and 3 extra bound, which amounts to 603. There is, therefore, a deficiency of 10, which must be by some mistake, for 613 are mentioned in the invoice.

My mother's illness increases, which prevents my enlarging, as I have several letters to write this evening and must visit her too. Love to you all.

Your friend,

JER. BELKNAP.

The famous Mrs. Macaulay, now Graham, is at Portsmouth. I called at Dr. Bracket's last Thursday, and she was gone to Exeter with his wife. She lodges where you did, at Colonel Langdon's. I send you a Portsmouth paper, for the sake of a good proposal about thieves in page 1.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

SUNDAY EVENING, September 19, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — I have not had anything as *yet* from the office since last post. The weather has been stormy for 2 days, but this morning cleared up, and the Freemason was so good as to come up and preach for me. He must go down again to-night, for reasons best known to people newly married. I therefore will not omit the opportunity of writing, though I have nothing particular to say.

I am, dear sir, with cordial respects to Mrs. H., in which Mrs. B. joins.

Your most obliged and obedient,

JER. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, October 2, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR, — It gives me great satisfaction to find in yours of 14th ultimo no complaint of weak limbs or nerves, and to see your handwriting as it should be. From these negative premises, I think I may draw a positive conclusion that you are recovered of your late illness. But I am concerned for your infant, — may gracious heaven spare its life, and make it a rich blessing to you.

I have drawn a new power of attorney, agreeable to Mr. A.'s mind. His extreme delicacy in the article of *promising* induces a great degree of confidence in him. The term *bookseller* was in the draught which you sent me in the spring. I shall hope that, in some of the late stages of Josey's apprenticeship, he will learn something of the business of tending shop and keeping accounts,

which is all that I should have expected if the term had been retained; and, if his genius should lead him to bargaining and traffick, he will get such insight into the business as will serve his turn. I beg you would previously ask him his full and hearty consent to be bound, and let him be explicit in his answer, and, if it be not too much trouble, read over his indenture with a comment, so as to make him understand it and impress on his mind the importance and utility of such a conduct as it obliges him to. I leave it with you either to keep the indenture in your hands or send it to me, as you think most proper.

As to my writing "more essays on man," if you can bear with them, and can find matter and time, 'tis probable you will not complain *for want* of them. It is a singular pleasure to me to be able to contribute to your amusement.

If there is any printed paper of rules or institutions for the Philosophical Society, I should be glad to have it. They threaten to put me into the American Academy at Boston.

October 4.

Inclosed you have a new power. I cannot now add, for 'tis time to look out for an opportunity to send this to to Portsmouth to go by to-morrow's post. The wind is rising, which is an untoward circumstance in passing the ferry, and may prevent my getting it down.

Love to Mrs. Hazard from Mrs. B. and

Your affectionate,

JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, Oct. 17, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — My good mother is at length released from her confinement by the hand of Death, having patiently and quietly resigned her spirit to the Father of Spirits on the 12th instant. I shall now be more at liberty to attend to the affair of my books, and intend, *Deo volente*, to set out for Boston some time this week. I shall desire Mr. Libbey to put what cash he has into a bill and send it, per next post, for Mr. Aitken, who, by his letters, is rather streightned. When I get to Boston I will send another from thence, and write you more particularly.

I am, dear sir, with cordial respects to Mrs. H., in which Mrs. B. joins,

Your affectionate friend, JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, October 28, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have by this day's conveyance written to Mr. Aitken for some more books, and should be glad you would insure them as before. I have desired him not to forget your *de la Vega*.

I had a letter from you last Saturday, and another the week before. I can read French with the help of dictionary and grammar. Is the "Magnetic Bucket," advertised in your *Courier de l'Amérique*, a piece of fun or of quackery? Some years since everything was to be cured by *electricity*, then by *tar-water*. What will come next?

Shall write you more largely by next mail. Mr. Hastings, in whose office I close this, is just making up.

Your obliged friend and servant,

JERE. BELKNAP.

Love to Mrs. H.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, Nov. 1, 1784.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I find by yours of 23d ultimo, which Mr. Hastings delivered me Saturday evening, that Mrs. Hazard has taken her turn to be sick; and I do not wonder at it, as I am sure she must have been much exercised with yours and your son's illness. But how happy is it that you are not all down at once! To have so much sickness at your first setting out in a family way is a severe tryal; but tryals are always accompanied with some alleviating and consoling circumstances, and, among others, you may reckon my *not* coming to Philadelphia this fall, for as things have happened with you this would have been an additional burden. Providence often disposes of us and provides better for us than we are aware. I shall anxiously expect to hear by the next that your dear partner is recovered. May gracious Heaven bless you both and make your little son a peculiar blessing to you.

My son Josey (who has something of an inquisitive mind) asked me for an account of the White Mountains. In answer, I told him that you had a full account in my letters, and that he would probably have an opportunity of hearing you read it to Mr A. He informs me in his last that he has not yet had that pleasure. I beg leave to repeat the request which I formerly made on this subject, and doubt not, when you have a leisure hour, you will gratify him. I thank you for presenting my book, etc., to the Society. Has one been sent to General Washington?

The success of my publication in these parts has not been so great as I wished. The alteration of the price to non-subscribers was an unfavorable circumstance, and

I have been obliged to reduce it. I have directed the stitched copies to be uniformly sold at 8s., but it is probably too late for many purchasers. I wish I had done it sooner. My inability to come to Boston when the books first arrived, was another misfortune ; but as Providence unavoidably hindered me, and I am satisfied it was my duty to be at home, I am perfectly easy on that score. Another thing is, that a book of Dr. Chauncy's, printed in England, of about the same size with mine and handsomely bound, is sold here for 9s., while mine are at 12s. This is, by the way, his famous work on Universal Salvation, which I formerly told you of ; and it is a performance that has already quieted and satisfied many minds, and I trust will do much good. The Doctor tells me that the copies cost him, bound, but 3s. 4d. sterling. I will get you one and send it, if Mr. Hastings thinks it will not make too big a packet. What I chiefly regret is, that the *first run* of my book should not produce a sufficiency to pay the expenses of publication, and that Mr. A. should be obliged to wait for his money, as I fear he will, longer than he or I would wish. An unexpected circumstance has also arisen. I find it very difficult to find any person *here* that can draw bills on Philadelphia. Mr. Hastings and Mr. Russell have been engineering since I have been in town and cannot hear of any ; and if I do not this forenoon get some information, I shall be obliged to take what money there is here and carry it to Portsmouth, where I hope I shall be able to obtain one of Colonel Langdon, as I did for Mr. Libbey's money. These are totally new scenes to me, and if I should appear awkward and blundering in my *mercantile* character, you must excuse it. I want to have a full statement of the whole account, debtor and creditor, from you and Mr. A., and to know what has been collected from subscribers at the southward, that I may see what more is expected

from this way. The bound books sell much better than the others, and I have desired Mr. A. to send all that he can spare, and let them all be *bound*.

I forget whether I mentioned to you that I left the 2 morocco bound ones in the hands of Mr. Pickering, to be presented one to each branch of our General Assembly, which is now sitting. You shall hear what reception they meet with on my return.

My paper is now lying on your Garcilasso de la Vega, which arrived here just after I had sent away my last by the post. I shall take it home with me and con it over in the course of the winter. I thank you for your attention in this and every other matter.

Our friend the Freemason has been sick, and now looks very poorly. He is a most worthy character; but it is rather unfortunate that he went out of Boston for a wife! Colonel Waters, at whose house I write this, desires his *cordial* respects to you; and if you knew him as well as I, you cannot doubt his sincerity.

The fellows that stole an iron chest, with jewelry, &c., at Philadelphia lately were detected here last Saturday, on 'change, where they were offering their jewels, and are now in confinement. A most singular confession of piracy and murder was made at the Supreme Court at Cambridge the same day. The person murdered was a Captain White, who sailed from Philadelphia for Nova Scotia. The particulars I heard related last evening, and — but as I am told they will be in the papers, I shall not repeat them. My most sincere respects to Mrs. H., and wishes and prayers for her recovery and confirmed health must conclude this from your most affectionate friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

Has my book been advertised in your paper?

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, Nov. 3, 1784. — Wednesday Evening.

MY DEAR SIR, — At length, after much fruitless enquiry, I have prevailed upon Mr. Eliot to draw on General Mifflin for some money due to him, and accordingly I inclose a bill drawn in your favor, which I wish you would divide between yourself and Mr. Aitken, and let me know the success of it by the first opportunity. Should any difficulty arise (there ought to be none, and I presume will not, but in case there should), Mr. Eliot has the money in his hands, and you will please to draw on him for it. I did not conceive the scarcity of bills was as it is, but every gentleman here almost finds the same difficulty. I expect to leave this town to-morrow, and shall write again as soon as I reach home.

Hoping this will find Mrs. Hazard better, and wishing her and you every blessing, I am, dear sir,

Your most affectionate friend, JEREMY BELKNAP.

You will please to let the letter of advice accompany the bill when presented.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD

DOVER, Nov. 8, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — At my return home I found your letter of 12th ultimo, with the account, which letter I missed receiving in season by means of my journey. This will apologize for my asking the account in one of my letters from Boston. I hope the bill sent you on General Mifflin will balance your account, and go some way toward paying Mr. Aitken.

I have not time to add anything but that I am, as ever,

Your obliged friend and servant, J. BELKNAP.

Mrs. B.'s love and mine to Mrs. H. Hope she is better.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, November 16, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR, — By the account you sent me of subscription money received at Philadelphia, I find that I am under great obligation to the worthy Ulysses, and, from the nature of the business, I know that he must have had my interest much at heart, and have exerted himself to promote it. Be so kind as to let him know how much I esteem his favours. I hope it will some time or other be in my power to thank him in person.

One of my greatest concerns at present is, that Mr. Aitken be paid. I have done all in my power to make him remittances, which as yet fall very short of his due. I gave you an account from Boston of the reasons which have operated to prevent the speedy sale of the books, and I may add to them that a report has been circulated that *I* am to make *great profits* by the work. This opinion, joined with the high price of the book, has, I am persuaded, been of much disservice to the cause, and I have even been vexed with *congratulations* on the subject. But we must, as the old saying is, “live and learn;” and if I should ever have another book to print, and be obliged to be author and *publisher* too, I hope I shall know a little more about the matter.

Pray tell me whether the Boston bank bills would do to make a remittance to Philadelphia. They are in high credit in these parts. If they bear as good a character with you, I may be able to send Mr. Aitken a few dribbets in this way during the winter. But bills of exchange are exceedingly scarce.

Enclosed is the product of a part of last Friday. I pass it through your hands for correction; and if our friend Aitken can make any pence by it at the season it

is calculated for, please to tell him he is welcome to it. Such *bagatelles* may not come amiss, especially when there is some moral instruction conveyed, for "A verse may catch him who a sermon flies."

Saturday and Sunday the weather was stormy, with much rain, and the travelling is now so bad that I have not heard from the post-office. The season is now approaching when my correspondence with you will be very much interrupted; but I desire you would write, though my letters may not come regularly. I am now *denuded* like the bears till next April, but have taken care to lay in a stock of literary fodder. Your *de la Vega* is on board a coaster, which I hope has arrived by this time. This, with 4 volumes of Johnson's Lives of the Poets and 16 volumes of Rollin's Roman History, which I borrowed at Boston, will enable me to chew the cud through a great part of the ensuing winter.

Mrs. B. desires her best regards to your *self*, including both parts of it. Why may not you and I use the regal style, and say *ourselves*. I wish no greater impropriety had ever come from the throne. What a miserable figure will *the puppet* who now sits there make in history!

"I'd rather be a dog and bay the moon
Than *such* a Briton!"

I am, dear sir, with warmest regards,
Your affectionate friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, Dec. 11, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of 23d ultimo is handed me this evening, inclosing one from Mr. Aitken, which informs of 100 more copies of my book, and accompanied with

one from Mr. Hastings announcing their safe arrival at Boston. I am much pleased to hear that the draught on General Mifflin is accepted.

I have been reading Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, and it is enough to give one an emetic for authorship. Some *few* of his heroes got a laurel (*i. e.* an appointment as Laureat), or a pension, or a round sum, but the bigger part of them, with all their genius and wit and learning and application, were beggars, or sycophants, or toad-eaters, or servile dependents on booksellers, players, and ministers of State. But though they lived and died poor, yet some of them fared as well *after death* as the Jewish prophets, having monuments erected to their memory,—a poor consolation, however, to survivors! I think somebody wrote on Butler, "He asked for bread, and he received a *stone*."

I am now at work on Garcilasso, and though I suspect a great part is fabulous and I am unable to distinguish the fable from the truth, yet his account of Peruvian government and manners does so much honor to human nature, that I read it with as much avidity as a girl of sixteen does a love tale. I think Sir William Temple has ranked Manco Capac among the first instances of *heroic virtue*. He certainly deserves celebration as much as Eneas and more than Achilles; and if I had Pope's genius, and *his fortune too* (mind), I would write a Peruvian heroic poem, and the scene of a great part of it should be at Cusco.

How does the little boy? Does he begin to use his *legs*? In 6 months more I shall ask the same of his *tongue*. Give our love to Mrs. Hazard, and accept the same from Mrs. B. as well as your obedient and obliged friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

DOVER, May 8, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — Your 2 letters of 12 and 15 April are received. I thank you for your fidelity in the information respecting the young gentleman. The inclosed contains some hints of advice, which I hope will prove salutary; and I should like to know from his master what effect it has. Perhaps you can get the information more readily than I can. I have no doubt he will turn out good when his volatility is corrected by judgment and experience; but it is best to keep up the lecture, because, as Solomon says, "With the well-advised there is wisdom."

I am sorry they have printed my account of the White Mountains, but it is now too late for remedy. Our Academy Memoirs have at length, after long labor, emerged from the press, but I have not seen the book. Our New England printers in general are a low-lived crew, and some of them downright blackguards. I except Hall and Mycal, who are the best of the profession that I am acquainted with.

According to your request, I have desired Mr. Libbey to put on board the French packet, M. Abbeville, 50 copies of my History for you. Be so good as to accept of one at least for yourself; and, if it be not too much trouble (since you have mentioned Dr. Ramsay), I could wish to negotiate an exchange with him for his History, and will pay the difference. If you receive any money for the rest, pray remit it to Aitken on my account. I am grievously concerned for him, fearing he will not be paid very soon, as the sales are nearly at an end here, and I have been obliged to give up 300 dollars which was due to me from my people, rather than see an innocent man go to jail, which was all the fruit of my

long lawsuit with them. I have since that given them a quitclaim for any future salary, and now stand ready to quit them wholly as soon as I can get any prospect elsewhere.

BOSTON, 12 May.

The French packet was ready to sail when I left Portsmouth, and is only waiting for a wind. She is a complete ship, built by our New England genius *Peck*.

If you should advertise my books in New York, what if you should insert the account given of the work in the *Monthly Review* for October, 1785? I do not transcribe it, because I know you can get it. Pray be so kind as to send one copy to Dr. Stiles, in performance of a promise I made him last fall at Rhode Island to give one to the library of Yale College; and inform him that, if he thinks it probable, as he did then, that any will sell at New Haven, he may have some either from you or from me. I left orders here last fall to send him a dozen, but they are here yet.

I must close in haste, but will write again from home.

Your affectionate friend,

J. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, 28 March, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I find that in prosecuting Penn's life I must crave a little of your assistance. In Jefferson's notes there is a list of American state papers, — I suppose the same with your collection, — and, among the rest, "Proceedings of the Lords of Trade in a dispute between Lord Baltimore and W. Penn," from 1683 to

1685. Now, my dear sir, will you give me such a summary account of this dispute and its termination as will be sufficient for my purpose? I know you will.

Oldmixon speaks of a manor belonging to Penn, called Pennsbury, where he built "a very fine seat," a brick house, orchards, &c. He describes it as "seated in a *treble island*, the Delaware running 3 times about it," and, by what I can discover, it is not far from Bristol. Do you know the place? In what manner does the Delaware run 3 times about it? Is it in this form . . . or this . . . ?* What is the present state, and to whom does it now belong? Do you know where his *city* residence was, and is the house now, or was it lately, in being?

Can you give me any other anecdotes concerning him. Are there any in Dr. Franklin's book entitled "An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania?" My present materials are Penn's Works, folio, with his Life prefixed; Oldmixon's British Empire; Colden's 5 Nations; and a MS. Life of Penn, which you once sent me, extracted from a British magazine. Can you direct me to any other?

In the charter granted to Penn by Charles 2d, his bounds are to the 43d degree of latitude; but in the map of Pennsylvania, in the Colonial Magazine for January, the 42d degree bounds it, though the Delaware extends further. Is this owing to a construction of the charter in favor of New York State, or to any subsequent agreement between them? and, if the latter, when and by whom was it made? How came Pennsylvania to

* Two small pen-drawings of possible ways in which a river may circumscribe an estate are here omitted as matters of no great consequence, particularly as Mr. Hazard, in his reply to this letter, says that he never heard this story of the Delaware running three times round Pennsbury. See p. 114 of this volume. — Eps.

extend more than 5 degrees of longitude, the bounds mentioned in the charter?

LORD'S DAY MORNING, March 29, 1789.

Last evening, at $\frac{1}{2}$ after nine, God was pleased to take my dear child to himself. He was in a calm, placid frame, and with his last rational breath expressed a strong hope in Christ, and committed his soul to him. Blessed be the name of my heavenly Father. He gives me every consolation that I could expect. Adieu. Our love to you and yours.

J. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, Oct. 3, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,— Thursday evening I received yours of 27 ultimo, announcing the very disagreeable tidings of a change in the office of postmaster-general. Yesterday morning the letter was sent to Mr. Morse, who wrote a billet expressive of his sympathy, and Mr. Hastings was here 2 or 3 times to mingle his tears on the occasion. In the afternoon Mr. John Eliot came here, and was made acquainted with it. Presently, Dr. Appleton (a very worthy friend, though to you unknown) came in, and, while we were lamenting together your hard fate, Mr. Wingate arrived in a very short passage from New York, and joined with us; so that we really had a *very friendly mourning*; and this day Colonel Waters has joined in it. We are all sincerely grieved on your account. But what shall I say to comfort you?

'Tis certainly best, my dear friend, that we should sometimes be placed in such a situation as to experience more sensibly than common our dependence on Provi-

dence, the uncertainty of temporal enjoyments, and the value of what we have remaining to us when part of our comforts is cut off. The feelings and exercises of a pious mind on such occasions will serve to fix more firmly the principles on which its best hopes are built. I have myself been in such a situation, and I have reaped benefit by it; and I doubt not you will find it good for you to be thus *thrown upon Providence*. Nothing was a greater comfort to me when in that situation than the lines of Dr. Watts, —

“ I to my God my ways commit,
And chearful wait his will;
Thy hand which guides my *doubtful* feet
Will my desires fulfil,”

and the event answered my expectations. You are capable of being useful; you are desirous to be so; your abilities and fidelity are well known. Therefore, there is all the reason in the world to expect that Providence has only given you an opportunity for the exercise of those virtues which are necessary on such an occasion, and that some other door of usefulness will be opened to you, and, I hope, before long. In the mean time, what if you should take a little exercise? What if you should make an excursion hither, and let us sympathize *in person*? Or, if you think it more advantageous, go to Philadelphia and see your friends there. Snatch a little time for relaxation, for you have been *too* tightly employed. You will find a vast benefit from air and exercise, — you will find yourself better in body and mind. If you do not, I am afraid that your successor, being unused to the business, will have to go to school to you, and you will have to teach him his duty, which will be confinement without profit to you. I suspect that the letter which you wrote to the President will prove very advantageous

to your successor, and that he will have all the assistance of which you was destitute to enable him to carry on the business. You have really had a hard lot; but you have kept a good conscience, and that is worth more than the President's salary.

Give yourself no concern about our correspondence: it will not cease with your office. It began before you had it, and I trust it will continue, though perhaps it may not be so frequent. Mr. Hastings will frank this; and if he is continued, as I hope he will be, there will be no difficulty. My affection is engaged to the *man*, and he is the same still, though out of office. Do you think of any way in which anything that I can say or do will be of service to you? Will you prosecute your old plan of a magazine? Will you be connected with Thomas? He is continually soliciting me to be concerned in his magazine, but I constantly plead off, having so many engagements on my hands.

You are welcome to Marant's sermon. I suppose I can get another. What else can I do to divert or amuse you?

Mrs. Belknap is most sincerely grieved, and desires her very particular regards both to you and Mrs. Hazard. There is a great degree of comfort in our female friendships on such trying occasions!

I am, dear sir, very affectionately,

Your constant friend,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

P.S. Please give me the number of your house and the street, that I may direct properly, if I have a private opportunity for conveyance.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, June 1, 1792.

SIR, — I have the pleasure of informing you that the *Historical Society* lately established here have done themselves the honor of electing you one of their corresponding members. In their name, I ask your acceptance of the election, and that you will unite your efforts with theirs to promote the valuable purpose of the institution.

I enclose a copy of the constitution of the Society and their circular letter; and am, Sir,

With much respect, your very humble servant,

JEREMY BELKNAP,

Corresponding Secretary.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

BOSTON, Aug. 1, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — Our society met yesterday, and your book was presented, in consequence of which you have the inclosed. I sent one of your books to Mr. Wallcut, and (as I expected) he returned it. His very delicate mind would not permit him to take any *reward* for his trouble in collecting subscriptions. I talked with him some time, and said everything that I could with propriety to induce his acceptance, but it was all in vain. You may, notwithstanding, at any future time, expect him to do you the like or any other service, and you cannot oblige him more than by asking such a favor of him. He is now equally assiduous in procuring subscriptions for *John Carey's* collection. Is it not strange that we should be obliged to a newly imported Hibernian for *disclosing* to us *the secrets* of our own Government? Will his work have any better fate than Andrew Brown's?

I have received no answer from Mr. Charles Thomson.

I have heard that he is engaged in a new translation of *the Bible*!! How much better had *he* been employed in telling us some of the secrets of the old Congress!!

My attention is now directed to the preparing of a discourse to be delivered before our Society, publicly on the 23d of October next, being the completion of the 3d century since the discovery of America by Columbus, which we intend to celebrate as a festival, and with decent religious solemnity.

I should not be a faithful friend if I forbore to tell you the remarks which are made by gentlemen of sense and learning on your book. Many of the papers, it is said, are useless. Those which are extracted from books of which there are copies in many people's hands, as Hutchinson's Collection, are said to be superfluous, and a reference to the book and page, with the title of the paper, might answer the same end. However, it is looked upon as a valuable collection, though it is feared it will be voluminous and expensive. I think you mentioned in one of your letters that it would be more likely to consist of 4 volumes than 2, as was first proposed. This I *carefully conceal*; and whenever I am asked *how many* volumes, I answer *one*, and I know not how many more, or whether any. I have received 52½ dollars of subscribers, to whom books have been delivered, and wait your directions how to dispose of the money.

The binding of my 3d volume is almost completed, when I hope for a fuller sale, as there will then be complete sets to be sold. It has been a laborious and expensive undertaking, and my profits are all *to come*, — what a blessing is *hope*!

We have here a Mr. Miller, a Presbyterian minister, from Dover, in Delaware. He has visited me once with letters of recommendation, and is to preach for me next Sunday, if a cold which he has taken on his journey do not prevent.

I enclose a letter for W. Sargent. Do not send it by post; but if you know of any trusty person bound to the Trans-Allegany country, let it go by him; if not, please to put it into the office of H. K., Secretary of War Department.

Last week I was at Brother Cutler's. He shewed me a neat pocket thermometer, which he bought at Philadelphia, and I wish you to get me one *exactly* like it. The price was 4 dollars. It is less than a foot long, in a flat shagreen case, lined with soft silk. It has an *ivory scale*, which is best for immersion in fluids; it is moveable from its case. I think the maker's name is Poyntell, but that is not material. It was bought at a shop in Second Street south, east side, between Dobson's and the market. The shopkeeper's name he could not recollect; but it is a miscellaneous shop, — knives, scissors, purses, and fringes were a part of the furniture. He says there were other shops which sold thermometers, but this was the cheapest. If you can get me *such an one precisely*, be so good as to put it up safely and send it by the next vessel that comes. All friends well, and send love to you and yours.

Your friend,

J. BELKNAP.

BELKNAP TO HAZARD.

Boston, Aug. 1, 1792.

SIR,—I am directed by the Historical Society to thank you in their name for the first volume of "Historical Collections," presented to them by you. They receive with pleasure this mark of your attention, and consider your acceptance of your election into their body as an honour to the institution and a pledge of your assiduity in forwarding its design.

I am, sir, your very humble servant,

JEREMY BELKNAP,

Corresponding Secretary.

3

A RELATION
OF
A VOYAGE TO SAGADAHOC

NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE
Original Manuscript in the Lambeth Palace Library

EDITED WITH PREFACE NOTES AND APPENDIX
BY THE
REV. B. F. DECOSTA

CAMBRIDGE
JOHN WILSON AND SON
University Press
1880

The Relation
of a Voyage unto New=
England
Began from the Lizard, y^e First of
June 1607.

By Capt^r Popham in y^e Ship y^e Gift
Capt^r Gilbert in y^e Mary & John:

Written by
& found amongs y^e Papers off truly - Lov^r s full
S^r Ferdinando Gorges, K^{nt}
by me
William Griffith.

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1880

NOTE.

The following journal of a voyage to Sagadahoc was communicated to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and appears in their Proceedings for May, 1880.

The editor is very greatly indebted to Mr. Charles Deane, the Corresponding Secretary of the Society, through whom it was communicated, for his careful supervision of the work as it went through the press.

A small edition has been printed apart from the Proceedings, for private distribution.

B. F. D.

NEW YORK, August, 1880.

THE RELATION
OF A VOYAGE UNTO NEW
ENGLAND
BEGAN FROM THE LIZARD YE FIRST OF
JUNE 1607.

BY CAPT^N POPHAM IN YE SHIP YE GIFT

[AND]

CAPT^N GILBERT IN YE MARY AND JOHN:

WRITTEN BY

& FOUND AMONG YE PAPERS OF YE TRULY WOR^{SPFUL}
S^R FERDINANDO GORGES K^N^T

BY ME

WILLIAM GRIFFITH.

[This is not the title given by the author, but was prefixed to the manuscript at a later period.]

RELATION

OF A

VOYAGE TO SAGADAHOC.

EDITORIAL PREFACE.

In the year 1849 the Hakluyt Society published Strachey's work entitled "The Historie of Travaile unto Virginia Britannia," edited by R. H. Major, Esq. Chapters VIII., IX., and X. contained an account of the Popham Colony, planted in the year 1607, at the mouth of the Kennebec River. Prior to the appearance of that work, but few of the details respecting the colony were known. In 1852 the portion of Strachey's "Historie" which included the story of the colony was reprinted, with additional notes, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (4th ser. vol. i. p. 219). The following year four chapters of the same part of the "Historie" were printed with new notes in the Collections of the Maine Historical Society (vol. iii. p. 286). In 1862 the Maine Society held a celebration on the site of the ancient colony, publishing the proceedings, during the following year, in a "Memorial Volume." Subsequently, certain features of the undertaking were discussed by several writers in the Boston daily press. In 1866 a number of the articles thus given to the public were reprinted, and a bibliography of the subject was added. No essentially new facts, however, were laid before the public.

This manuscript was found by the writer in the summer of 1875, while engaged in a careful search for historical material. It is now given to the public entire for the first time. By a comparison of the narrative with Strachey's, it will be seen that the manuscript, or at least a tolerable copy, must have passed through his hands, forming indeed the principal source of his knowledge respecting the Popham Colony. Portions of the manuscript were copied by him almost verbatim, though other portions were either epitomized or omitted.

Upon the titlepage of the manuscript, subsequently prefixed to it, the author's name is wanting, but we incline to the opinion, upon the evidence given below, that it was written by James Davies, one of the Council of the colony. The account partially covers the voyage of two

ships, the "Gift of God" and the "Mary and John," to the Kennebec in 1607, together with a relation of many events which immediately followed. Unfortunately, the closing portion of the manuscript has disappeared. This mutilation must have occurred since Strachey wrote, as a continuation of the narrative is found in that writer's "Historie." Concerning Strachey himself, comparatively little is known, though he was Secretary to the Virginia Colony in 1609-10. Besides his work on the "Laws of Virginia," published at Oxford, in 1612, he wrote the very interesting account, in Purchas, of the shipwreck of Gates at Bermuda, and narrated subsequent events in Virginia. Of his "Historie of Travaile," he left two copies in manuscript, both referred to by Mr. Major, one of which is preserved in the British Museum, and the other in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The latter copy lacks the intercalated sketches made on the coast of Maine. From the Oxford manuscript we have drawn the portion corresponding with the lost pages of the narrative, which forms the conclusion of Strachey's "Historie," at pp. 176-180 of the printed volume.

This interesting narrative of "A Voyage unto New England" is now preserved among the treasures of Lambeth Palace Library, London, bound up in the middle of a quarto volume of manuscripts that bear no special relation to the subject of the voyage. The manuscript, however, may be traced very easily in the catalogue. It is numbered 806. The writer was very agreeably surprised one day, when, in the course of searching for material, he came upon the narrative. Application was at once made for permission to copy it for publication, the request being very kindly granted by Dr. Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose authorization is essential before works of this kind can be thus used. A sort of titlepage has been prefixed to the manuscript, in an early hand, by a former possessor, reciting that it was found among the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges by one William Griffith. Gorges died in 1647, and we can hardly suppose that his papers would have been subject to overhauling before that event took place.

The manuscript was difficult to decipher, owing to the peculiarity of the chirography, but there is every reason to suppose that the work has been performed faithfully, as it was done by a copyist selected by the obliging Librarian, Mr. S. W. Kershaw.

As to the authorship of the narrative, Strachey, in his "Historie" (p. 165) relates that, on a certain occasion "The pilot, Captain R. Davies, with twelve others, rowed into the bay," &c. In our manuscript, however, which Strachey used, the author at this place says, "Myself was with 12 others," &c. This shows that the name, "Captain R. Davies," was here inserted by Strachey, on his supposition that Robert Davies was the author of the narrative, and was here describing these incidents. Yet Purchas (vol. v. p. 830), who had this manuscript, and quotes briefly from it, as well as from those of other Sagadahoc colonists, places the name of "James Davies" in the margin, as the author of it. Here is apparently conflicting evidence.

Again, the writer of the narrative frequently speaks of himself, as he did in the above instance, in the first person, as "myself," and we might fairly infer that he adhered to this method. Under the date of September 5, in describing another incident, he introduces the names of "Captain Gilbert, James Davies, and Captain Best," which would seem to show that "James Davies," one of the persons named, was not "myself," the author. It should be added, that the writer, while giving their titles to Gilbert and Best, simply gives the name "James Davies" without any title, as one writing his own name might do.

Robert Davies and James Davies are both spoken of by Strachey and by Smith as "Captains," and as members of the colonial Council; and, so far as we know of the relative character and position of the two men, and we know but little, one would be as likely to have written the narrative as the other. If we had full evidence that Robert Davies was the author, we should not be surprised to find no detailed account of the colony by him during the winter, or during the period of his absence from Sagadahoc, — namely, from the 15th of December, when he re-embarked in the "Mary and John," as its commander, for England, till his return in the following spring, with fresh supplies, when all the remaining colonists went back to England. The brief account we have in the concluding part of the narrative, as shown by what Strachey has preserved, might well have been gathered up by Captain Robert Davies on his return to the colony, in 1608, and added to the previous account.

Of course it will be understood that Strachey did not derive from our narrative the statement, on page 178 of his "Historie," that Captain Robert Davies was despatched away to England in the "Mary and John," "soon after their first arrival." The colony arrived in the early part of August, and the "Mary and John" sailed for home December 15 following, more than four months after their arrival, bearing the letter of Captain Popham to the king.

Whoever the author may have been, it would appear, from his own account, at least, that he was a man of some importance; for as the "Mary and John," on the voyage hither, was approaching Gratiota, he opposed the opinion of the master and his mates, who thought the island was Flores: "Myself withstood them and reprov'd them." Possibly the "master" of the "Mary and John" on her voyage hither was Robert Davies, whom Strachey calls "the pilot," the commander or captain being Raleigh Gilbert. The opinion of Purchas, that James Davies was the author of our manuscript, is entitled to great weight, and should perhaps control the evidence.

Strachey must have known both these persons, subsequently, in the southern colony of Virginia. One of the vessels which accompanied the fleet hither in 1609, on which voyage Gates and Somers were wrecked at Bermuda, was the "'Virginia,' which was built in the North Colony," in which "Captain Davies" and "Master Davies" were the chief officers. Surely these can be no other than our Sagadahoc acquaintances. Strachey embarked in the "Sea-Adventure," with Gates and Somers. We find "Captain James Davies" mentioned

in a letter of Strachey, written from Virginia in the following year, as commander of "Algernoon Fort," upon Point Comfort.*

Concerning the value of the manuscript in Lambeth Palace Library there can be no question; and it shows very distinctly that Strachey had good authority for the principal part of his narrative relating to the Sagadahoc Colony. He used other authorities also, perhaps one or more of those cited by Purchas in his brief abstract before mentioned. Strachey's whole book, "*Historie of Travaile*," which embraces an account of the Southern Colony as well, is a compilation, though he probably drew somewhat upon his own experience in his narrative of the latter.

Strachey made some blunders in his summary of our manuscript, but his errors were certainly unintentional. He used the work of Davies without credit, as he did the journals of Gosnold, Pring, and Rosier, but this was in accordance with the custom of the time.

This manuscript we now print is also of value, for the reason that it gives new facts of considerable interest, and leads to a better understanding of the enterprise.

In giving this narrative to the press, it has been thought best to modernize the orthography in those instances where it differed from that of our own day, inasmuch as it often represented the spelling of no particular period. Proper names have been allowed to stand as written.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, voyagers to the New England coast were still indulging in golden dreams, while at the same time searching for a short passage to the Indies in a region where the breadth of an entire continent barred the way. In the order of Providence, however, these shores were destined to become the field of a nobler quest; and, among scenes hitherto frequented only by maritime adventurers, English colonists were destined to find a home, and lay the foundations of a prosperous commonwealth. The attempt to establish the colony at Sagadahoc pointed to this conclusion.

The first known voyage to New England in the seventeenth century was that of Gosnold, who named Cape Cod, and spent some weeks at Cuttyhunk, on the southern coast of Massachusetts.† In 1603 Martin Pring, with two vessels, lay for several weeks in Plymouth Harbor.‡

On Easter Sunday, May 15, 1605, Captain Weymouth sailed from Dartmouth, England, with intentions that have never been sufficiently explained, sighting land in latitude $41^{\circ} 20' N$. The coast of Cape Cod appearing dangerous, and having a head wind, he did not attempt the southern course. He was also in need of wood and water, and, moreover, being of an irresolute disposition, he concluded to sail with the wind. As the result, on the 18th he found the island now known

* Purchas, vol. iv. pp. 1733, 1748; Neill, Virginia Company of London, pp. 30, 37, 49.

† Historical and Genealogical Register, for Jan. 1878, p. 76.

‡ Ibid. p. 79.

as Monhegan, under which he anchored, hoping that it would prove the "most fortunate ever discovered." Afterward he reached a harbor which he called "Pentecost" and explored a great distance the river which, in the opinion of the writer, was that now known as the Kennebec, where he set up a cross and took possession in the name of King James.

The advantages derived from Monhegan certainly proved considerable, but Sir Ferdinando Gorges lays the stress upon another point, and affirms that the savages captured by Waymouth and carried to England, and trained for future service, were the means "under God, of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations." What he learned from them encouraged him to use his influence with Sir John Popham; and, finally, by their joint efforts, the king was induced to grant two patents, one for the London Company and one for the Plymouth Company; both being under a general governing body composed of thirteen persons, called the "Council of Virginia." The territory of the London Company included the regions between 34° and 41° N., and that of Plymouth 38° and 45° N. They were entitled to coin money, impose taxes and duties, and exercise a general government for twenty-one years.* The value of Waymouth's voyage, therefore, cannot be questioned, and in no inferior sense may he be regarded as one of the founders of New England. It was under this patent that the Popham Colony was undertaken at the mouth of the Kennebec, then known as Sagadahoc.

It is true that the men who undertook the enterprise did not possess the deliberate purpose essential to immediate success. Nevertheless this may be viewed as preparatory to the scheme afterward unfolded on the New England coast. The enterprise was inaugurated in 1606. Some of the notices of this event, however, are contradictory. Strachey says that Sir John Popham "prepared a tall ship well furnished," which set sail from Plymouth under one "Haines, Maister," who took as "Captain" one "Martin Prin," and that the ship was captured by the Spaniards at the Azores.† But the ship was not captured there, neither was Prin on board. Sir Ferdinando Gorges states that he himself sent out a ship under Captain Challons, with orders to keep to the northward as far as Cape Breton, and then sail southward to Sagadahoc; but that, when the vessel reached the Azores, Challons fell sick, and his subordinates took the responsibility of sailing by the way of the West Indies, where they were captured by the Spaniards and carried to Spain.‡ The account of Stoneman the Pilot indicates that they were carried southward by the *wind*, and so captured and sent to Spain. Stoneman reached England September 18, and reported to Sir Ferdinando.§

* Hazard, vol. i. p. 50.

† "Historie of Travaile," p. 162.

‡ "Brief Narration of the Original Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations," in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vi. pp. 51, 52, and "Brief Relation" of President and Council, in 2 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. ix. p. 3.

§ Stoneman gives a revolting picture of the barbarities of the Spaniards.

But so earnest were the movers in this enterprise, that, before hearing of the fate of Challons another ship was sent out. The "President and Council" say that Thomas Hanam was captain, and "Martine Prine," master. This was Pring who made the voyage of 1603. On reaching the coast of Maine, Pring failed to find Challons, but Gorges says that he made "a perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors." In fact, it was the most exact exploration that ever came into his hands.* Hanam also wrote a journal, which Purchas used. He says that Hanam, who sailed to Sagadahoc, "relateth of their beasts, dogs like wolves, of colors black, white, red, grisled: red deer, and a beast bigger, called the mus, &c., of their fowls, fishes, trees: of some ore proved to be silver. Bashabes hath many under-Captains called *Sagamos*: their houses built with withs and covered over with mats, six or seven paces long. He expressteth also the names of their twelve moons or months: as January, Musse-keshoó, February, Gignokiakeshos," &c. †

Reaching the year 1607, there are yet some conflicting statements. The memory of Gorges is at fault when he says that "three sail of ships" were employed. The number of "landmen" he puts at one hundred, but in this he does not include Captains Popham and Gilbert, and "divers other gentlemen of note." Smith makes the same statement as to the number of persons. The "Brief Relation" of the President and Council gives the same number of "landmen," but properly mentions only two ships, while Strachey says that there were "one hundred and twenty persons and planters." The author of this journal, our principal guide in the expedition, does not mention the strength of the colonists. There were no women.

Sailing from Plymouth the last day of May, 1607, and from the Lizard, June 1, at six o'clock in the afternoon, at the end of twenty-four days the expedition reached the Azores. Here the principal ship, the "Mary and John," had a narrow escape from the Netherlands, who seized Captain Gilbert and charged him with being a pirate.

In the mean while Captain Popham, who commanded the fly boat called the "Gift of God," paid no attention to the signals of distress made by Gilbert's crew, and finally sailed away, apparently either ignorant or careless of what was transpiring. After escaping from the Netherlands, Gilbert also stood to sea, and crossed the ocean alone, sighting the coast of Nova Scotia, July 28. His landfall, however, has been stated incorrectly by every writer who has touched upon the subject. Thé earliest opinion, encouraged by Smith, placed the landfall at Monhegan, but after the publication of Strachey's work, it was

See Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1832. Also letter of Gorges to Challons. Cal. State Papers, Colo., under March 13, 1607. Folsom gives the wrong date in his Documents relating to Maine (p. 1), where Gorges calls the leader of the voyage "Chalinge," though in the Brief Narration it is "Challoung." Purchas writes, "Challons," and "Challenge."

* "Brief Narration," chap. v.

† Purchas, vol. v. p. 830.

supposed by some to have been Mount Desert, while the "Cape" which appears so prominently in the narrative was regarded as Small Point. These were little better than guesses.

The approach to the land, and the subsequent movements of the "Mary and John," are described particularly by the author of the narrative we now print, who was on this ship. Gilbert crossed the southern edge of Grand Bank and passed thence to Sable Bank. According to the soundings, he did not run very far south of Sable Island. Next he stood west-north-west, looking for the land two or three days; but having a light breeze he made only thirty-six leagues. July 30 the land was seen to the north-west, distant about ten leagues. Failing to reach the coast before night, he "struck a hull," so that it was not until three o'clock the next afternoon that the ship got in upon anchorage. The island under which Gilbert anchored in the storm-tossed "Mary and John" lay in $44^{\circ} 20' N$. It was "Ironbound," lying in the well-known harbor or river of La Heve. This place was visited in the autumn of the same year by Lescarbot, then on his way home.

The testimony which covers this subject is unanswerable, yet its character has escaped attention. The pilot had a fair opportunity for making his observations, and that fact alone gave a good clew. The name of the port, "Emannet," indeed afforded no help, but the name of the chief in authority there was "Messamott," a fact stated by Strachey. Who, therefore, was "Messamott"? Lescarbot tells us that he was a travelled Sagamore, known on the continent as the Sagamore of La Heve. He had been the guest of Grandmont in France. The summer before the Popham colonists arrived, he sailed to Saco with Champlain to arrange a peace with his enemies. Lescarbot celebrates his prowess in "The Muses of New France," and in his narrative, probably borrowed from Champdoré.

The highland seen by Gilbert when out at sea was the well-known landfall of La Heve. It was the port made by Champlain in 1604.* The general description of Champlain also agrees with that of our author. Lescarbot speaks of the abundance of gooseberries found later in the season.

The "Mary and John" lay here over Sunday, where divine worship was doubtless celebrated by the chaplain; and at midnight, Gilbert took a fair north-east breeze and ran down the coast south-west. The next day many islands were seen. The wind being light, they delayed to catch fish; hence Cape Sable was not reached until the morning of August 4. The journal describes its well-known white rocks, though the latitude is given as only $43^{\circ} N$. After rounding the cape, they found a "great deep bay," the Bay of Fundy, and sailing thence seven leagues in a westerly direction they made "three Illands," the well-known Seal Islands, almost exactly seven leagues from the cape, with the Horseshoe Ledge nearly a league to the south-west. Gilbert, knowing his ground, sailed confidently for Sagadahoc, until, supposing that he had gone far enough south, he held in north-

* "Œuvres," tome v. p. 50.

erly, expecting to see the high land. On the afternoon of August 5, the Camden Hills appeared, the three double peaks of which rose above the waves, and were sketched by the writer, who thought them ten miles away, but recognized them as the Penobscot Range. He also observes that this is the first land seen after leaving the cape, being thirty-four hours on the way, evidently with little wind.

Standing in toward the west, they next sighted three islands, lying east and west, whose white rocks shone "like unto Dover cliffs," the Matinicus group, which, on this course, *appear* as three. Strachey adds, evidently quoting an exact authority, "There lyeth so-west from the easternmost of the three islands a white rocky island." This is Matinicus Rock, which now bears a lighthouse.

Coming nearer the mountains and to the westward of Matinicus, two of the double peaks already seen rose from the waves, each becoming one. Thence the "Mary and John" held westward eight leagues, and sighted three other islands, Monhegan, Metinic, and Burnt Island, the outer of the Georges group. Under Monhegan, an island already visited and named by Champlain "Ship Island" (*La Nef*), Gilbert dropped anchor.

The succeeding movements of the expedition are tolerably plain, but the outward voyage is now interpreted for the first time. The statements of the journal, when understood, agree with the actual courses, and prove that the master, Robert Davies, or whoever he may have been, was a correct and observing navigator. The modern coast pilot is hardly more clear.

Landing upon the Island of Monhegan, named by Waymouth St. George, a cross was found "set up," the author says, as "we suppose" by Waymouth. In this, however, the company were doubtless at fault, yet the supposition has been accepted as a fact, and has led to much confusion in connection with the voyage of Waymouth. It may have been set up by Pring, who, in 1606, made his exploration of Sagadahoc, and probably sailed to Waymouth's landfall; or by Champlain, in the autumn of 1604.

The next morning, to their great joy, they were joined by the "Gift," now seen for the first time since they parted at the Azores. There was no room, however, for recrimination. At midnight, Gilbert left Monhegan, where the two vessels lay at anchor, and with a dozen men, including the Indian "Skidwarres," a name, according to Rosier, signifying a "gentleman," rowed to Pemaquid, moving with measured stroke among the "gallant islands" that flung down their shadows upon the calm tide. Landing, and crossing Pemaquid Point, they reached an Indian village, and met Nahanada a Sagamore, one of the Indians captured by Waymouth, and who had been returned by Pring the previous year. This chief, though at first alarmed, received the English with joy, after which Gilbert returned to his ship. The next day being Sunday, the members of the expedition landed on Monhegan, and, under the shadow of the cross, they observed what may be called the first English Thanksgiving in New England, the preacher being the Rev. Richard Seymour,

who conducted services, we may well suppose, according to the Book of Common Prayer.*

Sunday being past, another visit was made to Nahanada, but with no result beyond the desertion of Skidwarres; after which they sailed for Sagadahoc, where the "Mary and John" narrowly escaped being wrecked, — finally getting into harbor on Sunday forenoon, August 16. Then followed a boat expedition up the river. Afterward a site was selected for the fort, and the colony duly organized, the company possessing all the powers of a commonwealth. As the fort progressed, Digby, the shipwright, proceeded to build a pinnacle, the "Virginia," a craft that afterward did good service on the ocean. Captain Gilbert also explored the Sheepscot River, and later gained the upper reaches of the Kennebec.

The manuscript ends after alluding to the meeting with Sabenor, "Lord of the river of Sagadehock." Strachey, however, continues the account in language which indicates that he is employing the remainder of our narrative. At the end he adds some items perhaps not found in the authority which he had so liberally used. As already mentioned, he is clearly in error when he says that the "Mary and John" was sent back "soon after their first arrival," as the vessel was detained to receive the letter of President Popham addressed to King James, dated Dec. 13, 1607, sailing two days after.

Strachey relates that after the departure of Davies, they finished the fort and built fifty houses therein, besides a church, evidently a little chapel, and a storehouse. "Fifty," however, is doubtless a clerical error for five, as in one place he puts fourteen leagues for forty. Five houses would have been ample for the little company, and would at the same time fill up all the space inside the fort. The President and Council speak simply of "their lodgings"; while our author, on August 31, mentions only "the storehouse." Nevertheless, the fort, with twelve guns and seven buildings, must have appeared quite imposing.

During the winter they seem to have done some exploration, but the season was one of unusual severity both in Europe and America, and before the cold weather was over Captain Popham died. According to Purchas, this event took place February 5.† The "Brief Relation" says that this was the only man that died there, which, technically, may be true; but the journal of Gilbert shows that "Master Patteson was slain by the Savages of Nanhoc, a River of the Tarentines." According to Gorges, the storehouse, containing the most of their provisions, was burned during the winter;‡ and Harlow says that the "short commons caused a fear of mutiny." Nevertheless, a considerable quantity of furs rewarded their exertions, and a "good store of sarsaparilla" was gathered. The colonists also finished their pinnacle, which afterward sailed between England and Virginia.§

* Popham Memorial, p. 101.

† Purchas, vol. v. p. 830.

‡ Ibid.

§ In 1609 she is mentioned as "a boat built in the north colony." See *ante*, p. 9.

Captain Gilbert, it appears, heard a story reported by David Ingram,* in 1569, where he says, "The people told our men of Cannibals, near Sagadahoc, with teeth three inches long," probably deformed Tarrantines. The natives also reported an open sea inland, and the colonists believed that they were not far from China. Popham reported the sea to King James,† as Verrazano reported his open sea to Francis I. Gilbert, not to be outdone by the nutmegs which Popham reported, discovered a lake of hot water.‡ During the winter, religious services were maintained with good results.

Stories, originally put in circulation by the French, represent that eleven of the colonists were murdered by the Indians. Father Biard, however, did not understand the Indian language, yet he says that when he visited Kennebec in 1611, he made inquiries about the English, and was told that they came in 1608, and had a kind leader who died, and that the next year the Indians quarrelled with the English, who attacked them with dogs and fired upon them with cannon. But as the colonists left in 1608, they could not have been guilty of the acts alluded to. The reference to dogs recalls circumstances connected with Waymouth's voyage, while the real offender probably was Henry Hudson, who, in 1609, entered Some's Sound at Mount Desert, and there, in the most cruel manner, attacked and plundered the savages.§ After getting all he could of the savages by fair means, Hudson's pilot says: "In the morning we manned our scute with four muskets and six men, and took one of their shallops and brought it aboard. Then we manned our boat and scute with twelve men and muskets and two stone pieces, or murderers, and drove the savages from their houses and took the spoil of them."|| It may have been this disgraceful and unprovoked attack by the crew of the "Half Moon," who were part English and part Dutch, that has been attributed to the colonists at Sagadahoc. The Indians who gave the information were not of the local tribe, whose peaceable disposition was vouched for, in 1616, by Brawnde; while it was the Pemaquid chief, Samoset, who hailed the Plymouth Pilgrims with the words, "Welcome, Englishmen." It is hardly to be supposed that the savages around Sagadahoc had ever been fired upon with cannon.

Still, though the relations of the colonists to the Indians were peaceful, their enterprise did not succeed; and when Captain Davies returned in the spring, he found the company greatly discouraged, no mines having been found, which Strachey says was "the main

* Hakluyt, London, 1589, pp. 558-561.

† Maine Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 357.

‡ Purchas, vol. v. p. 830.

§ Biard wrote two versions of this story. "Relations des Jésuites," tome i. p. 37. Quebec, 1858: and Carayon's "Première Mission," p. 70. See "Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson." In a boastful spirit, the Indians may have changed *one* to *eleven*; but it is more likely that they gave the account to Biard in their bad French, and thus confused *un* with *onze*, as the two words are pronounced so nearly alike.

|| Juet in Asher's "Henry Hudson," p. 61.

intended benefit expected." The presence of Captain Gilbert was also required in England, and Chief Justice Popham being dead, it was concluded to abandon the settlement. Details of the return voyage are wanting, but the colonists must have gone home in a ship that was well furnished with every thing needed to maintain them in the new world. The pinnace was also used on the return passage.

"This," says Strachey, "was the end of that northern colony upon the River Sachadehoc." No mention is afterward made of any return of the English; and the only recorded visit is that of the French in the autumn of 1611, where no resident was found, the paths leading to the fort being untrodden. Biard says that, in company with Biencourt, he reached the Kennebec from the east, October 28. Entering the harbor where, in 1607, Popham had moored the "Gift" and the "Mary and John," the French were all animation, and at once hastened to view the stronghold built by the English. As they approached the works they knew they were safe, all things indicating the absence of occupants. Biard writes: "Straightway all our people landed, desirous to see the fort of the English, because we had learned from the paths that no person was there. At first they began to praise and extol the enterprise of the English, and to enumerate the advantages of the place"; soon, however, he testifies, they saw the situation with a military eye, and discovered that the ground was badly chosen, as another fort, properly placed, would have cut them off from both the river and the sea.*

Such is the only known description of the place written at that period. The French were evidently impressed by the magnitude of the work. It indicated enterprise, and proved that the builders wrought with regard to something more than a transient occupation. Of the dwellings, nevertheless, Biard says nothing.

Smith says with reference to the enterprise, "They all returned for England in the yeere 1608, and thus the plantation was begun and ended in one yeere, and the country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous desert." Gorges also says, "They all resolved to quit the place and with one consent to [come] away."† The President and Council also say, "The whole company resolve upon nothing but their return with the ships."‡

Yet at all events, the English claimed the coast without qualification, and "Sir Francis Popham having the ships and provision which remained of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coast for trade and fishing."§ In 1611, Harlow confiscated a French ship for intruding upon the waters of Maine. When Biencourt sailed to the site of the colony, it was expressly to attack the English, who were supposed to be there, though such was not the case, as already related. Smith, in 1614,

* Carayon, p. 63. See Hist. Mag., Sept., 1866, where the French of the narrative is misunderstood.

† "Brief Narrative," p. 10.

‡ "Brief Relation," p. 3.

§ "Brief Relation," p. 4.

found one of Francis Popham's ships that had frequented the port opposite Monhegan for "many years," for fishing and trading in furs. Vines wintered in the country once, and others were known to have spent the cold season on Monhegan.

Concerning the character and the merits of the colonists of Sagadahoc, there has been some warm discussion, though no established facts have been produced that reflect upon their reputation. The colonists were probably no better than the average men of their class, yet there is nothing to indicate that there were any among them who required disciplinary treatment. The Lord Chief Justice has been denounced for his severe conduct of the courts of justice and for the sins of his youth; but impartial critics will allow that this is altogether aside from the question. So far as we actually know, the course pursued by the colonists was humane and pacific. One of their number was killed by the Tarrantines of the east, while the loss of their provisions induced the fear of a mutiny, yet the temptation to indulge in disorder was resisted. Industry and order seemed to have prevailed, and due respect was shown for the services of religion, the bearing of the English worshippers led by Chaplain Seymour being such as to recommend to the simple savage a faith which he could not comprehend. When, however, it was found that the main purpose for which the colony was undertaken could not be achieved, they departed to employ their activities in another sphere.

Among those who have brought charges against the Popham colonists may be mentioned Aubrey, in his "Letters," &c., vol. ii. p. 495; and Sir William Alexander, "Map and Description," p. 30. Bacon's Essay on "Plantations" has also been used. We have cited Alexander in the "Appendix." The replies to these attacks are well known, among them being papers by the late Dr. Ballard of Brunswick, Maine.

B. F. DECOSTA.

[A VOYAGE TO SAGADAHOC.]

Departed from the Lyzard the first day of June, A.D. [1607], being Monday, about six of the clock in the afternoon, and it bore off me then north-east and by north eight leagues off.

From hence directed our course for the Islands of Flowers and Corve, in the which we were twenty-four days attaining of it, at which time we still kept the sea and never saw but one sail, being a ship of Salcom * bound for the Newfoundland, wherein was one Sosser [?] of Dartmouth, master in her.

The twenty-fifth day of June we fell with the Island of Garsera,† one of the islands of the Azores, and it bore off us then south and by east ten leagues off, our master and his mates making it to be Flowers, but myself withstood them and reproved them in their error, as afterward it appeared manifestly, and then stood round for Flowers. The 26th of June we had sight of Flowers and Corve, and the 27th, in the morning early, we were hard aboard Flowers, and stood in for to find good road for to anchor, whereby to take in wood and water. The 28th we descried two sails standing in for Flowers, whereby we presently weighed anchor, and stood towards the road of Santa Cruz, being near three leagues from the place where we watered. There Captain Popham anchored to take in wood and water, but it was so calm that we could not recover or get unto him before the day came on.

The 29th of June being Monday, early in the morning those two sails we had seen the night before were near unto us, and being calm they sent their boats, being full of men, towards us, and after the order of the sea they hailed us, demanding us of whence we were, the which we told them and found them to be Flemens and the state's ships. One

* Salcombe. — B. F. D.

† The reader will understand that by "Garsera," "Flowers," and "Corve," the islands of Gratiiosa, Flores, and Corvo, belonging to the group of the Azores Islands, are intended. — B. F. D.

of our company, named John Goyett, of Plymouth, knew the captain of one of the ships, for that he had been at sea with him. Having acquainted Captain Gilbert of this, and being all friends, he desired the captain of the Dutch to come near and take a can of beer, the which he thankfully accepted, we still keeping ourselves in a readiness both of our small shot and great. The Dutch captain being come to our ship's side, Captain Gilbert desired him to come aboard him and entertained him in the best sort he could. This done, they to requite his kind entertainment desired him that he would go aboard with them, and upon their earnest entreaty he went with them, taking three or four gentle[men] with them, but when they had him aboard of them they there kept him perforce, charging him that he was a pirate, and still threatening himself and his gentlemen with him to throw them all overboard, and to take our ship from us.* In this sort they kept them from ten of the clock morning until eight of the clock night, using some of his gentlemen in most vile manner, as setting some of them in the bilboes, buffeting of others, and other most vile and shameful abuses; but in the end having seen our commission, the which was proffered unto them at the first, but they refused to see it, and the greatest cause doubting of the Englishmen being of their own company who had promised Captain Gilbert that if they proffered to perform that which they still threatened him that then they all would rise with him, and either end their lives in his defence, or suppress the ship; the which the Dutch perceiving, presently set them at liberty, and sent them aboard unto us again, to our no small joy.† Captain Popham, all this time being in the wind of us, never would come round unto us, notwithstanding we making all the signs that possibly we might, by striking our topsail and hoisting it again three times, and making towards him all that ever we possibly could, so here we lost company of him, being the 29th day of June, about eight of the clock at night, being six leagues from Flowers, west-north-west, we standing our course for Vyrgenia. The 30th we lay in sight of the island.

The first day of July being Wednesday, we departed from the Island of Flowers, being ten leagues south-west from it.

From hence we always kept our course to the westward as much as

* Possibly there was some connection between the conduct of the Dutch and the state of feeling indicated by Rosier, where, in the introduction to Waymouth's voyage, he says, "After these purposed designs were concluded, I was animated to publish this brief relation, and not before; because some foreign nation (being fully assured of the fruitfulness of the country) have hoped hereby to gain some knowledge of the place, seeing they could not allure our captain or any special man of our company to combine with them for their direction, nor obtain their purpose in conveying away our savages, which was busily in practice." 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. p. 127. The Dutch certainly made strong efforts to secure New England. — B. F. D.

† Part of this sentence is obscure. We interpret it thus: that the captain of the Dutch ship "doubting," that is, *fearing* that the Englishmen, making part of his own ship's company, might rise, as they had promised or threatened to do, to prevent any additional outrage on Captain Gilbert and his companions, was induced to liberate them. — B. F. D.

wind and weather would permit, until the 27th day of July, during which time we oftentimes sounded, but could never find ground. This 27th, early in the morning, we sounded, and had ground but eighteen fathoms,* being then in the latitude of $43\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$; here we fished three hours. I took near two hundred of cod, very great and large fish, bigg, and larger fish than that which comes from the Bank of the Newfoundland; here we might have laden our ship in less time than a month.

From hence the wind being at south-west, we set our sails and stood by the wind, west north-west towards the land, always sounding for our better knowledge as we ran towards the mainland from the bank.

From this bank we kept our course west north-west thirty-six leagues, which is from the 27th of July until the 30th of July, in which time we ran thirty-six leagues, as is before said, and then we saw the land † about ten of the clock in the morning, bearing north-west from us about ten leagues, and then we sounded and had a hundred fathoms black ooze here. As we came in towards the land from this bank we still found deep water; the deepest within the bank is one hundred and sixty fathoms, and in one hundred fathom ‡ you shall see the land if it be clear weather; after you pass the bank the ground is still black ooze until you come near the shore. This day we stood in for the land, but could not recover it before the night took us, so we stood a little from it and there struck a hull until the next day, being the last of July; here lying at hull we took great store of codfishes, the biggest and largest that I ever saw, or any man in our ship. This day, being the last of July, about three of the clock in the afternoon we recovered the shore and came to an anchor under an island, for all this coast is full of islands or broken land, but very sound and good shipping to go by them, the water deep, eighteen or twenty fathoms hard aboard them.

This island standeth in the latitude of $44\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$,§ and here we had not

* There is only one part of the Bank where, according to the "Atlantic Neptune," this depth is found. — B. F. D.

† The land seen was either Cape La Heve or the Aspotogeon Hills, which are close by. The cape is an abrupt cliff a hundred and seven feet high, pushing boldly out to sea, while the hills are very noticeable far away at sea. — B. F. D.

‡ This deep water is found on the charts as indicated by the journal. The deepest inside Sable Bank, shown by the "Atlantic Neptune," is one hundred and fifty-two fathoms, which occurs in the course sailed. About thirty miles south-east of Cape La Heve, a hundred fathoms are found, indicating with tolerable precision the position of the "Mary and John" when land was first seen. — B. F. D.

§ Ironbound Island lies precisely in this latitude at the mouth of the La Heve River. Blunt says, "The shores are bold, and much indented with irregular inlets or bays." In the vicinity, twenty fathoms of water are common. "Coast Pilot," 21st ed. 1867, p. 195. Mr. Major, misled by Captain John Smith, and neglecting the fact that points of eastern Nova Scotia lie in the same latitude as parts of the Maine coast, says, "The latitude here given would lead to the supposition that the island referred to was Mount Desert Island in Frenchman's Bay; but nearly all other histories record Manhegin Island as the point at which they first landed." "Historie of Travaile," pp. 165, 166 n. Following Smith, Mr. Bancroft makes the first landing at Monhegan, vol. i. p. 205, ed. 1876. — B. F. D.

been at an anchor past two hours before we espied a bisken shallop coming towards us, having in her eight savages and a little savage boy. They came near unto us and spoke unto us in their language, and we making signs to them that they should come aboard of us, showing unto them knives, glasses, beads, and throwing into their boat some biscuit, but for all this they would not come aboard of us, but making show to go from us, we suffered them. So when they were a little from us, and seeing we proffered them no wrong, of their own accord returned and came aboard of us, and three of them stayed all that night with us. The rest departed in the shallop to the shore, making signs unto us that they would return unto us again the next day.

The next day the same savages, with three savage women, being the first day of August, returned unto us, bringing with them some few skins of beaver in another bisken shallop, proffering their skins to truck with us.* But they demanded over-much for them, and we seemed to make light of them; and

So then the other three which had stayed with us all night went into the shallop, and so they departed. It seemeth that the French † hath trade with them, for they use many French words. The chief commander of these parts is called Messamott, ‡ and the river or har-

* Lescarbot speaks of his traffic here. Evidently it was a well-known trading post. — B. F. D.

† Savalet of Canso was doubtless among their customers, and furnished them with European shallops. "Nouvelle France," p. 604. — B. F. D.

‡ Champlain spells the name "Messamouët," and mentions his visit to Saco, in company with "Secondon." "Œuvres," tome ii. p. 92. Lescarbot describes his doings there in full: "From this isle they went to the river of Olmechin, a port of Choüakoet, where Marchin and the said Olmechin brought a Souriquois prisoner (and therefore their enemy) to Sieur Poutrincourt, whom they gave him freely. Two hours after there arrived two savages, one an Etechemin named Chkoudun, captain of the River St. John, called by the savages Oigoudi; the other Souriquois named Messamoet, captain or Sagamore in the river of the port La Heve, where this prisoner was taken. They had a great quantity of merchandise trucked with the French, which they came to sell, viz., large, medium, and small kettles, hatchets, knives, gowns, short mantles, red waistcoats, biscuit, and other things. Thereupon there arrived twelve or fifteen boats full of savages of Olmechin's following, in good order, their faces painted according to their custom, in beautifying themselves, having the bow and arrow in hand, and the quiver which they laid down. Then Messamoet commenced his harangue before the savages, 'reminding them that in the past they had often been at amity, and that they might easily overcome their enemies, if they would act understandingly and make use of their friendship with the French, who were then present in order to reconnoitre the country, to the end that they might bring them commodities in the future, and aid them with their strength which he knew,' and he was able to represent to them so much better, because he who spoke had formerly been in France, and dwelt in the house of Grandmont, Governor of Bayonne. Finally, his speech continued almost an hour with much vehemence and feeling, and with a gesture of body and arms such as is required in a good orator." "Nouvelle France," p. 559, ed. 1612. All this, however, together with his gifts, failed, and the chief went away resolved upon war, which the Saco tribe had already prosecuted as far as La Heve. See also Lescarbot's reference to the warlike actions of this chief in "Les Muses de la Nouvelle France," p. 46, ed. 1612. He probably went on a visit to France in one of De Mont's ships. — B. F. D.

bor is called Emannett.* We take these people to be the Tarentyns † [and these people, as we have learned since, do make wars with Sasanoa, the chief commander to the westward, where we have planted, and this summer they killed his son]. ‡

So the savages departed from us, and came no more unto us. After they were departed from us we hoisted out our boat, wherein myself § was with twelve others, and rowed to the shore, and landed on this island that we rode under, the which we found to be a gallant island, full of high and mighty trees of sundry sorts; here we also found abundance of gooseberries, || strawberries, raspberries, and whorts. So we returned and came aboard.

Sunday being the 2d of August, after dinner our boat went to the shore again to fill fresh water; where, after they had filled their water, there came four savages unto them, having their bows and arrows in their hands, making show unto them to have them come to the shore. But our sailors having filled their water would not go to the shore unto them, but returned and came aboard, being about five of the clock in the afternoon. So the boat went presently from the ship unto a point of an island, and there, at low water, in an hour killed near fifty great lobsters. You shall see them where they lie in shoal water, not past a yard deep, and with a great hook made fast to a staff, you shall hitch them up there, a great store of them; you may near load a ship with them, and they are of great bigness; I have not seen the like in England. So the boat returned aboard, and we took our boat in; and about midnight the wind came fair at north-east. We set sail and departed from thence, keeping our course south-west, for so the coast lieth.

Monday being the 3d of August, in the morning we were fair by the shore, and so sailed along the coast; we saw many islands all along the coast, and great sounds going betwixt them, but we could make proof of none for want of a pinnace; here we found fish still all along the coast as we sailed.

Tuesday being the 4th of August, in the morning, five of the clock, we were athwart of a cape ¶ or headland, lying in the latitude of 43°,

* We have not yet found any other reference to the Indian name of the river La Heve in the early chronicles. — B. F. D.

† On these people see Maine Hist. Soc. Coll. vol vii. p. 95. — B. F. D.

‡ The part enclosed in brackets was, of course, added by the author at a later period. For the account of the death of Sasanoa, see later, under August 22. — B. F. D.

§ Strachey, who may have known the author of this journal, says that this person was the pilot, R. Davies. Purchas also used the journal and attributes it to James Davies (vol. v. p. 830). — B. F. D.

|| Lescarbot says, "And in the same port we saw the cod bite the hook. There we found an abundance of red gooseberries (*grozelles rouges*), and a marcassite of copper mine. There we had some traffic in peltry with the savages." "Nouvelle France," ed. 1612, p. 604. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1640. Champlain puts the Cape of La Heve in 40° 5', and speaks of the islands as covered with pines, and the mainland with oaks, chestnuts, &c. "Œuvres," tome ii. p. 8. — B. F. D.

¶ Whether or not our author meant to say that the cape was exactly in latitude 43° N. is not clear. The cape in question was Cape Sable, which is in

and came very near unto it. It is very low land, showing white like sand, but it is white rocks; and very strong tides* goeth here from the place we stopped at, being in $44\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. Until this cape or headland it is all broken land and full of islands, and large sounds betwixt them, and here we found fish abundance, so large and great as I never saw the like cods before, neither any in our ship.

After we passed this cape or headland, the land falleth away and lyeth in north-west and by north into a great deep bay.† We kept our course from this headland west and west and by south seven leagues, and came to three islands,‡ where coming near unto them we found on the south-east side of them a great ledge of rocks,§ lying near a league into the sea, the which we perceiving tacked our ship, and the wind being large to north-east cleared ourselves of them, keeping still our course to the westward, west and by south, and west south-west until midnight, then after we held in more northerly.

Wednesday being the 5th of August, from after midnight we held in west north-west until three of the clock afternoon of the same, and then we saw the land again, bearing from us north-west and by north, and it riseth in this form hereunder. Ten or twelve leagues from you,

$43^{\circ} 25'$. If he meant to be exact, he was in error to the extent indicated. Mr. Major took the ground that he was in error "more than half a degree." This was assumed to accommodate his theory that the cape was Cape Small Point. He says, "In order to verify and define in modern nomenclature, the description of the course held by the adventurers . . . a very beautiful and elaborate map of this coast, in the British Museum, on a scale of two miles to an inch, has been used"; and he concludes that while the headland was Small Point, the three islands were the Damiscope, Wood, and Outer Heron Islands, with the Pumpkin Ledges. He says "no more southerly cape" would offer the requisite island; whereas what he needed was a *northerly* cape. The fact that the "Mary and John" made her first port, coming in immediately from a well-known fishing bank, alone would be sufficient to prove that the landfall was not on the Maine coast. See Major's remarks in "Historie," p. 166 n. The cape described as "white like sand" was Cape Sable, so called at an early period by the French on account of the *sablon* or sand. If the cape had been Small Point, and the "Mary and John" had continued on the course described, the colonists would have approached the interior of Maine. — B. F. D.

* Blunt's Coast Pilot describes the strong tides running "at the rate of three and sometimes four knots an hour." — B. F. D.

† Bay of Fundy. This, perhaps, may be regarded as the earliest, or one of the earliest, references to the bay by the English; unless Hakluyt had it in mind when he spoke of the "Bay of Menan." (3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. p. 107.) On the map of Mollineux (1600) projected by Wright, this bay stands apart from the unnamed gulf which seems to indicate the Bay of Fundy. The Continental maps of the sixteenth century, however, commencing with Verrazano (1529), indicate the bay with distinctness, whether it is called *Terra onde*, *hondo*, *condo*, *fondo*, *fonda*, or Fundy. See the Verrazano map, in "Verrazano the Explorer," revised from Mag. of American History. Barnes & Co., New York, 1880. — B. F. D.

‡ This group is composed of what is now known as "Seal" and the "Mud Islands." On some charts one name is applied to all. If the smallest were included, they would number four. Sailing to the southward the navigator would notice only three. — B. F. D.

§ This ledge, according to Blunt, "is called the Horseshoe, and runs out two and one-half miles, south-east by south." The description is almost scientifically exact. — B. F. D.

there are three high mountains that lie in upon the mainland near unto the river of Penobscot, in which river the Bashabe* makes his abode, the chief commander of those parts, and stretcheth unto the river of Sagadahock under his command. You shall see these high mountains when you shall not perceive the mainland under it, they are of such an exceeding height: and note that from the cape or headland before spoken of, until these high mountains, we never saw any land except those three islands also before mentioned. We stood in right with these mountains until the next day.†



Thursday being the 6th of August, we stood in with this high land, until twelve o'clock noon, and then I found the ship to be in $43\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ‡ of my observation.§ From thence we set our course and stood away due west, and saw three other islands lying together, being low and flat by the water, showing white as if it were sand, but it is white rocks making show afar off almost like unto Dover cliffs.||

These three islands lie due east and west one of the other, so we came fair by them, and as we came to the westward the high land before spoken of showed itself in this form as followeth.¶



* The article prefixed does not prove that the writer meant to give the word "bashabe" as a title. Afterward he speaks of their Indian guide as "the Skidwarres." See, on this subject, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. vii. p. 95, and Hist. Mag., April, 1868. Strachey adds that the mainland where the mountains stood was "the land called Segohquet." The distance is exaggerated. — B. F. D.

† These three mounts are the same as those given by Strachey in his "Historie" (p. 167). They represent the Camden and Union mountains. The two double peaks at the left represent the four principal peaks of the Union range, while that on the right represents Megunticook. — B. F. D.

‡ Strachey (p. 167) makes the latitude 43° . — B. F. D.

§ It would appear that our author either understood navigation, or used the reckoning of the pilot. In fact he may have used a large portion of his journal, and modified some of the statements, which would account for the variations of Strachey, supposing the latter to have followed another authority here, in part. — B. F. D.

¶ These were the Matinicus Islands. — B. F. D.

¶ Upon getting nearer, the mountains rose from the sea, and the double peaks were united. By a comparison of this view with the recently published sketch of the Coast Survey, the resemblance may be traced, though this ancient sketch is very rude. In the "Historie" (p. 168), another view is given that our manuscript omits. The Oxford MS. omits all these sketches. Our sketches have no indication of foliage on the hill-tops. — B. F. D.

From hence we kept still our course west and west by north towards three other islands that we saw lying from these islands before spoken of eight leagues, and about ten of the clock at night we recovered them, and having sent in our boat before night to view it, for that it was calm, and to sound it and see what good anchoring was under it, we bore in with one of them, the which as we came in by we still sounded, and found very deep water forty fathom hard aboard of it. So we stood in into a cove* in it, and had twelve fathom water, and there we anchored until the morning, and when the day appeared we saw we were environed round about with islands; you might have told near thirty islands round about us from aboard our ship.†

This island we call St. Georges Island, for that we here found a cross set up, the which we suppose was set up by George Wayman.‡

Friday being the 7th of August we weighed our anchor, whereby to bring our ship in more better safety howsoever the wind should happen to blow, and about ten of the clock in the morning, as we were standing off a little from the island, we descried a sail standing in towards this island, and we presently made towards her and found it to be the "Gyfte," our consort; so being all joyful of our happy meeting, we both stood in again for the island we rode under before, and there we anchored both together.§

This night following, about midnight, Captain Gilbert caused his ship's boat to be manned and took to himself thirteen other, myself being one, being fourteen persons in all, and took the Indian Skidwarres with us. The weather being fair and the wind calm, we rowed to the west in amongst many gallant islands, and found the river of Pemaquid to be but four leagues west from the island we call St. Georges, where our ship remained still at anchor.

Here we landed in a little cove || by Skidwarres' direction, and

* This cove does not appear to have been the harbor formed by Mananas which lies close to Monhegan, but a sheltered spot north of the harbor. — B. F. D.

† The islands are certainly numerous. — B. F. D.

‡ There is no proof that the supposition was correct. — B. F. D.

§ First meeting of the ships. Popham appeared to know the anchorage better than Gilbert. — B. F. D.

|| It would appear that they had come to the same place where Waymouth received a hostile reception. It was the resort of at least a portion of the savages abducted by that explorer, and Skidwarres conducts them directly to the place. Rosier writes of the visit made two years previous: "When we came near the point where we saw their fires" one of the men landed and found "two hundred eighty-three savages, every one his bows and arrows, with their dogs and wolves, which they keep tame at command, and not any thing to exchange at all; but would have drawn us further up into a little narrow nook of a river, for their furs, as they pretended." 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. p. 144. That this "little nook of a river" was Pemaquid River appears from the fact that, as Strachey says, Waymouth discovered not only "the most excellent and beneficial river of Sachadehoc," but that "little one of Pemaquid." The "pond of fresh water, which flowed over the banks" fed "by a strong run," which Rosier says could be made to "drive a mill," is situated on Cape Newaggin, opposite Pemaquid River, and is indicated on one of the maps of the Coast Survey. It has been examined for the writer, and corresponds exactly with Rosier's description, proving that Waymouth had been on the spot. The pond still flows over into the sea. — B. F. D.

marched over a neck of the land* near three miles. So the Skidwarres† brought us to the savages' houses where they did inhabit, although much against his will, for that he told us that they were all removed and gone from the place they were wont to inhabit; but we answered him again that we would not return back until such time as we had spoken with some of them. At length he brought us where they did inhabit, where we found near a hundred of them, men, women, and children, and the chief commander of them is Nahanada.‡ At our first sight of them, upon a howling or cry that they made, they all presently issued forth towards us with their bows and arrows, and we presently made a stand, and suffered them to come near unto us.—Then our Indian Skidwarres spoke unto them in their language, showing them what we were, which when Nahanada, their commander, perceived what we were, he caused them all to lay aside their bows and arrows, and came unto us and embraced us, and we did the like to them again.

So we remained with them near two hours and were in their houses.

Then we took our leave of them and returned with our Indian Skidwarres with us towards our ship, the eighth day of August, being Saturday in the afternoon.

Sunday being the 9th of August, in the morning the most part of our whole company of both our ships landed on this island, the which we call St. Georges Island, where the cross standeth, and there we heard a sermon delivered unto us by our preacher,§ giving God thanks for our happy meeting and safe arrival into the country, and so returned aboard again.

Monday being the 10th of August, early in the morning Captain Popham in his shallop with thirty others, and Captain Gilbert in his ship's boat with twenty others accompanied, departed from their ships and sailed towards the river of Pemaquyd, and carried with us the Indian Skidwarres, and came to the river right before their houses, where they no sooner espied us but presently Nahanada with all his Indians with their bows and arrows in their hands came forth upon the sands.

So we caused Skidwarres to speak unto him, and we ourselves spoke unto him in English, giving him to understand our coming tended to no evil towards himself|| nor any of his people. He told us again he would not that all our people should land. So because we would in no sort offend them, hereupon some ten or twelve of the chief gentlemen ¶ landed, and had some parley together, and afterward they

* Pemaquid Point. — B. F. D.

† An Indian who had been carried away by Waymouth in 1605. — B. F. D.

‡ Another of the Indians abducted by Waymouth. — B. F. D.

§ The Rev. Richard Seymour. See Bishop Burgess in the Popham "Memorial Volume," p. 101. Also Bishop Perry's "Connection of the Church of England with Early Discovery and Colonization," Portland, 1853. — B. F. D.

|| Our copy of the manuscript says "themselfe," but evidently the word intended is *himself*. — B. F. D.

¶ The reader will notice the recurrence of the word "gentlemen," which gives some idea of the reputed *status* of many of the colonists. — B. F. D.

were well contented that all should land. So all landed, we using them with all the kindness that possibly we could; nevertheless, after an hour or two they all suddenly withdrew themselves from us into the woods and left us.

We perceiving this presently embarked ourselves, all except Skidwarres, who was not desirous to return with us.

We seeing this, would in no sort proffer any violence unto him by drawing him perforce, suffered him to remain and stay behind us, he promising to return unto us the next day following, but he held not his promise; so we embarked ourselves, and went unto the other side of the river, and there remained upon the shore the night following.

Tuesday being the 11th of August, we returned and came to our ships where they still remained at anchor under the island we call St. Georges.*

Wednesday being the 12th of August, we weighed our anchor, and set our sails to go for the river of Sagadehock. We kept our course from thence due west until twelve of the clock midnight of the same, then we struck our sails, and laid a hull until the morning, doubting for to overshoot it.

Thursday in the morning, break of the day, being the 13th August, the Island of Sutquin † bore north of us, not past half a league from us, and it riseth in this form hereunder following, the which island lieth right before the mouth of the river Sagadehock south from it near two leagues, but we did not make it to be Sutquin, so we set our sails and stood to the westward for to seek it two leagues further, and not finding the river of Sagadehock, we knew that we had overshot the place; then we would have returned, but could not,‡ and the night in hand. The "Gifte" sent in her shallop and made it, and went into the river this night; but we were constrained to remain at sea all this night, and about midnight there arose a great storm and tempest upon us, the which put us in great danger and hazard of casting away of our ship and our lives, by reason we were so near the shore. The wind blew very hard at south right in upon the shore, so that by no means we could not get off there; we sought all means and did what possible was to be done, for that our lives depended on it. Here we plied it with our ship off and on, all the night, oftentimes espying many sunken rocks and breaches hard by us, enforcing us to put our ship about and stand from them bearing sail when it was more fitter to have taken it in, but that it stood upon our lives to do it, and our boat sunk at our stern, yet would we not cut her from us in hope of the appearing of the day. Thus we continued until the day came; then we perceived ourselves to be hard aboard the lee shore, and no way to escape it but by seeking the shore; then we espied two little islands § lying under our lee.

* Monhegan. — B. F. D.

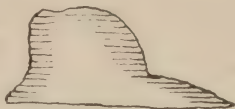
† Seguin, well known to them through the explorations of Waymouth and Pring. — B. F. D.

‡ Strachey says that it was calm. — B. F. D.

§ The only two islands lying two leagues west of Seguin are Seal Island and the small, nameless rock shown in the Coast Survey Map, No. 5, 1865. Behind the former is safe anchorage, with ten feet at low water. — B. F. D.

So we bore up the helm, and steered in our ship in betwixt them, where, the Lord be praised for it, we found good and safe anchoring. There anchored, the storm still continuing until the next day following.

In this form,
being south
of it.



Being east and
west from the
Island of Sut-
quin, it mak-
eth in this
form.*

Friday being the 14th of August, that we anchored under these islands, there we repaired our boat, being very much torn and spoiled; then after we landed on this island,† and found four savages and an old woman; this island is full of pine-trees, of oak, and abundance of whorts of four sorts of them.

Saturday being the 15th of August, the storm ended, and the wind came fair for us to go for Sagadehock, so we weighed our anchors and set sail, and stood to the eastward, and came to the island of Sutquin, which was two leagues from those islands we rode at anchor before, and here we anchored under the Island of Sutquin in the eastern side of it, for that the wind was off the shore that we could not get into the river of Sagadehock, and there Captain Popham's ship's boat came aboard of us, and gave us twenty fresh cods that they had taken, being sent out a-fishing.

Sunday being the 16th of August, Captain Popham sent his shallop unto us for to help us in, so we weighed our anchors, and being calm, we towed in our ship, and came into the river of Sagadehock, and anchored by the "Gyfte's" side about eleven of the clock the same day.

Monday being the 17th of August, Captain Popham in his shallop with thirty others, and Captain Gilbert in his ship's boat, accompanied with eighteen other persons, departed early in the morning from their ship, and sailed up the river of Sagadehock for to view the river, and also to see where they might find the most convenient place for their plantation, myself being with Captain Gilbert.

So we sailed up into this river near fourteen ‡ leagues, and found it to be a most gallant river, very broad and of a good depth; we never had less water than three fathom when we had zest § and abundance of great fish in it, leaping above the water on each side of us as we sailed.

So the night approaching, after a while we had refreshed ourselves upon the shore, about nine of the clock we set backward to return

* The sketches of Seguin are quite fair, especially the first. Champlain named the island "*Tortue*," or the Tortoise, to which it bears a resemblance. In this connection Strachey gives another very rough view of the Union Hills, which is not found in our manuscript. — B. F. D.

† It will be noticed that the language changes to "this island" (Seal Island), as if there were only one island worth mentioning. Strachey errs in saying that the two islands were *west* of Sagadahoc. — B. F. D.

‡ Strachey says incorrectly, "forty." — B. F. D.

§ Our transcriber writes "zest." Strachey made it "sest." Perhaps it should read, "when we had *rest*," or came to anchor. — B. F. D.

and came aboard our ships the next day following, about two of the clock in the afternoon. We find this river to be very pleasant, with many goodly islands in it, to be both large and deep water, having many branches in it; that which we took bendeth itself towards the north-east.*

Tuesday being the 18th, after our return we all went to the shore, and there made choice of a place for our plantation, which is at the very mouth or entry of the river of Sagadehocke on the west side of the river, being almost an island † of a good bigness. Whilst we were upon the shore, there came in three canoes by us, but they would not come near us, but rowed up the river, and so passed away.

Wednesday being the 19th of August, we all went to the shore, where we made choice for our plantation, and there we had a sermon delivered unto us by our preacher, and after the sermon our patent was read with the orders and laws therein prescribed; then we returned aboard our ship again.

Thursday being the 20th of August, all our company landed and there began to fortify. Our president, Captain Popham, set the first spit of ground unto it, and after him all the rest followed, and labored hard in the trenches about it.

Friday, the 21st of August, all hands labored hard about the fort, some in the trench, some for faggots, and our ship carpenters about the building of a small pinnace or shallop.

Saturday, the 22d of August, Captain Popham early in the morning departed in his shallop to go for the river of Pashipakoke.‡ There they had parley with the savages again, who delivered unto them that they had been at wars with Sasanoa, and had slain his son in fight. Skidwarres and Dehanada were in this fight.

Sunday, the 23d, our president, Captain Popham, returned unto us from the river of Pashipscoke.

The 24th all labored about the fort.

Tuesday, the 25th, Captain Gilbert embarked himself and fifteen others with him to go to the westward upon some discovery, but the wind was contrary and forced him back again the same day.

The 26th and 27th all labored hard about the fort.

Friday, the 28th, Captain Gilbert, with fourteen others, myself being one, embarked him to go to the westward again; so the wind serving

* They clearly knew the Androscoggin branch, but they ascended the true Kennebec, and must have reached the vicinity of Augusta. — B. F. D.

† The Peninsula of Sabino. Strachey gives the list of officers appointed: "George Popham, gent., was nominated President; Captain Raleigh Gilbert, James Davies, Richard Seymer, Preacher, Captain Richard Davies, Captain Harlow . . . were all sworn assistants." ("Historie of Travaile," p. 172.) Smith says in his "General Historie," "That Honourable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, . . . sent Captain George Popham for President, Captain Rawleigh Gilbert for Admiral, Edward Harlow, Master of the Ordnance, Captain Robert Davis, Sergeant-Major, Captain Ellis Best, Marshall, Mr. Leaman, Secretary, Captain James Davis to be Capitaine of the Fort, Mr. Gome Carew to be searcher: All those were of the council." — B. F. D.

‡ Sheepscot. — B. F. D.

we sailed by many gallant islands, and towards night the wind came contrary against us, so that we were constrained to remain that night under the headland called Semeamis * where we found the land to be most fertile, the trees growing there doth exceed for goodness and length, being the most part of them oak and walnut, growing a great space asunder one from the other, as our parks in England, and no thicket growing under them. Here we also found a gallant place to fortify, † whom nature itself hath already framed, without the hand of man, with a running stream of water hard adjoining under the foot of it.

Saturday, 29th of August, early in the morning we departed from thence, and rowed to the westward, for that the wind was against us; but the wind blew so hard that forced us to remain under an island two leagues from the place we remained the night before. Whilst we remained under this island there passed two canoes by us; after midnight we put from this island in hope to have gotten the place we desired, but the wind arose and blew so hard at south-west contrary for us that forced us to return.

Sunday being the 30th August, returning before the wind we sailed by many goodly islands, for betwixt this headland called Semeamis and the river of Sagadehock, is a great bay in the which lyeth so many islands, and so thick and near together that you cannot well discern to number them, yet may you go in betwixt them in a good ship, for you shall have never less water than eight fathoms. These islands are all overgrown with woods, very thick, as oaks, walnut, pine trees, and many other things growing, as sarsaparilla, hazel-nuts, and whorts in abundance.

So this day we returned to our fort at Sagadehock.

Monday being the last of August, nothing happened; but all labored for the building of the fort, and for the storehouse, to receive our victual.

Tuesday, the 1st of September, there came a canoe unto us in the which was two great kettles of brass; some of our company did parley with them; but they did rest very doubtful of us, and would not suffer more than one at a time to come near unto them, so he departed.

The second day, third and fourth, nothing happened worth the writing, but that each man did his best endeavor for the building of the fort.

Saturday being the 5th of September, there came into the entrance of the river of Sagadehock, nine canoes, in the which was Dehanada and Skidwarres with many others, in the whole near forty persons, men, women, and children; they came and parleyed with us, and we again used them in all friendly manner we could, and gave them victuals for to eat.

So Skidwarres and one more of them stayed with us until night. The rest of them withdrew them in their canoes to the further side of the river; but when night came, for that Skidwarres would needs go to the rest

* Cape Elizabeth. — B. F. D.

† On that cape stands Fort Preble. — B. F. D.

of his company, Captain Gilbert, accompanied with James Davis and Captain Ellis Best, took them into our boat and carried them to their company on the further side the river, and there remained amongst them all the night, and early in the morning the savages departed in their canoes for the river of Pemaquid, promising Captain Gilbert to accompany him in their canoes to the river of Penobskott, where the Bashabe remaineth.

The 6th nothing happened; the 7th our ship, the "Mary and John," began to discharge her victuals.

Tuesday being the 8th of September, Captain Gilbert, accompanied with twenty-two others, myself being one of them, departed from the fort to go for the river of Penobskott, taking with him divers sorts of merchandise for to trade with Bashabe, who is the chief commander of those parts; but the wind was contrary against him, so that he could not come to Dahanada and Skidwarres at the time appointed, for it was the eleventh day before he could get to the river of Pemaquid, where they do make their abode.

Friday, the 11th, in the morning early we came into the river of Pemaquid, there to call Nahanada and Skidwarres, as we had promised them, but being there arrived we found no living creature; they all were gone from thence; the which we perceiving, presently departed towards the river of Penobskott, sailing all this day and the 12th and 13th the like, yet by no means could we find it.* So, our victual being spent, we hasten to return. So the wind came fair for us, and we sailed all the fourteenth and fifteenth days, in returning, the wind blowing very hard at north, and this morning, the fifteenth day, we perceived [a] blazing star † in the north-east of us.

The 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, nothing happened, but all labored hard about the fort and the storehouse for to land our victuals.

The 23d being Wednesday, Captain Gilbert, accompanied with nineteen others, myself one of them, departed from the fort to go for the head of the river of Sagadahock. We sailed all the day; so did we the like the 24th until the evening, then we landed there to remain that night. Here we found champion land and exceeding fertile; so here we remained all night.

The 25th being Friday, early in the morning we departed from hence, and sailed up the river about eight leagues farther, until we came unto an island, being low land and flat. At this island is a great downfall of water, the which runneth by both sides of this island, very swift and shallow. In this island we found great store of grapes, exceeding good and sweet, of two sorts, both red, but the one of them is a marvellous deep red. By both the sides of this river the grapes grow in abundance, and also very good hops, and also chebolls ‡ and garlic, and for the goodness of the land it doth so far abound that I cannot almost express the same. Here we all went ashore, and with a strong rope made fast to our boat and one man in her to guide her against

* If Weymouth or Pring had visited that river in 1605-6, Popham would doubtless have had better directions for finding it. — B. F. D.

† A meteor. — B. F. D.

‡ A small onion. — B. F. D.

the swift stream, we plucked her up through it perforce. After we had passed this downfall we all went into our boat again, and rowed near a league farther up into the river, and night being at hand, we here stayed all night, and in the first of the night, about ten of the clock, there came on the farther side of the river certain savages, calling unto us in broken English. We answered them again, so for this time they departed.

The 26th being Saturday, there came a canoe unto us, and in there four savages, them that had spoken unto us in the night before. His name that came unto us is Sabenor; he maketh himself unto us to be Lord of the river of Sagadehock.*

[They entertained him friendly, and took him into their boat and presented him with some trifling things, which he accepted; howbeit, he desired some one of our men to be put into his canoe as a pawn for his safety, whereupon Captain Gilbert sent in a man of his, when presently the canoe rowed away from them, with all the speed they could make, up the river. They followed with the shallop, having great care that the Sagamo should not leap overboard. The canoe quickly rowed from them and landed, and the men made to their houses, being near a league in the land from the river's side, and carried our man with them. The shallop, making good way, at length came unto another downfall, which was so shallow and so swift that by no means they could pass any further; for which Captain Gilbert, with nine others, landed and took their fare, the savage Sagamo, with them, and went in search after these other savages, whose houses, the Sagamo told Captain Gilbert, were not far off; and after a good, tedious march, they came indeed at length unto those savages' houses, where they found near fifty able men, very strong and tall, such as their like before they had not seen, all new painted, and armed with their bows and arrows. Howbeit, after that the Sagamo had talked with them, they delivered back again the man, and used all the rest very friendly, as did ours the like by them, who showed them their commodities of beads, knives, and some copper, of which they seemed very fond, and by way of trade made show that they would come down to the boat, and there bring such things as they had to exchange them for ours. So Captain Gilbert departed from them, and within half an hour after he had gotten to his boat, there came three canoes down unto them, and in them some sixteen savages, and brought with them some tobacco, and certain small skins which were of no value, which Captain Gilbert perceiving, and that they had nothing else wherewith to trade, he caused all his men to come aboard, and, as he would have put from the shore; the savages, perceiving so much, subtly devised how they might put out the fire in the shallop, by which means they saw they should be free from the danger of our men's

* What follows, in brackets, is wanting in the Lambeth Library manuscript. It is taken from the Bodleian version of Strachey's work, the number of the manuscript being 1758. The narrative in the Lambeth manuscript ends abruptly at the bottom of the last leaf, as though the following pages had been removed. This portion in brackets corresponds with pages 176-180 in Strachey's printed volume. — B. F. D.

pieces : and, to perform the same, one of the savages came into the shallop, and taking the firebrand, which one of our company held in his hand thereby to light the matches, as if he would light a pipe of tobacco, as soon as he had gotten it into his hand he presently threw it into the water and leaped out of the shallop. Captain Gilbert, seeing that, suddenly commanded his men to betake them to their muskets, and the targetiers, too, from the head of the boat, and bade one of the men before, with his target on his arm, to step on the shore for more fire ; the savages resisted him, and would not suffer him to take any, and some others holding fast the boat rope that the shallop could not put off. Captain Gilbert caused the musketeers to present their pieces, the which the savages seeing, presently let go the boat rope, and betook them to their bows and arrows, and ran into the bushes, knocking their arrows, but did not shoot, neither did ours at them. So the shallop departed from them to the further side of the river, where one of the canoes came unto them, and would have excused the fault of the others. Captain Gilbert made show as if he were still friends, and entertained them kindly, and so left them, returning to the place where he had lodged the night before, and there came to an anchor for that night. The head of the river standeth in 45° and odd minutes.* Upon the continent they found abundance of spruce-trees, such as are able to mast the greatest ship his majesty hath, and many other trees, oak, walnut, pine-apple : fish abundance ; great store of grapes, hops, and chiballs ; also they found certain cods † in which they supposed the cotton wool to grow, and also upon the banks many shells of pearl.

27th. Here they set up a cross and then returned homeward, in the way seeking the by-river of some note called Sasanoa. This day and the next they sought it, when the weather turned foul, and full of fog and rain ; they made all haste to the fort, before which, the 29th, they arrived.

30th, and 1st and 2d of October, all busy about the fort.

3d. There came a canoe unto some of the people of the fort, as they were fishing on the sand, in which was Skidwares, who bade them tell their president that Nahanada, with the Bashabae's brother and others, were on the further side of the river, and the next day would come and visit him.

4th. There came two canoes to the fort, in which were Nahanada and his wife, and Skidwares, and the Bashabae's brother, and one other called Amenquin, a Sagamo ; all whom the president feasted and entertained with all kindness, both that day and the next, which being Sunday, the president carried them with him to the place of public prayers, which they were at both morning and evening, attending it with great reverence and silence.

6th. The savages departed, all except Amenquin, the Sagamo, who would needs stay amongst our people a long time. Upon the departure of the others, the president gave unto every one of them

* This latitude is too high. It was guess-work or a clerical error. — B. F. D.

† An old term for *pois*. — B. F. D.

copper beads or knives, which contented them not a little, as also delivered a present unto the Basshabae's brother to be presented unto Bassaba, and another for his wife, giving him to understand that he would come unto his court in the river of Penobscot, and see him very shortly, bringing many such like of his country commodities with him.

You may please to understand how,* while this business was thus followed here, soon after their first arrival, that had despatched away Captain Robert Davies, in the "Mary and John," to advertise both of their save arrival and forwardness of their plantation within the river of Sachadehoc, with letters to the Lord Chief Justice, importuning a supply for the most necessary wants in the subsisting of a colony to be sent unto them betimes the next year.†

After Captain Davies's departure, they fully finished the fort, trenched and fortified it with twelve pieces of ordnance, and built fifty ‡ houses therein, beside a church and storehouse; and the carpenters framed a pretty pinnace, of about thirty ton, which they called the "Virginia," the chief shipwright being one Digby, of London. Many discoveries, likewise, had been made, both to the main and unto the neighboring rivers, and the frontier nations fully discovered by the diligence of Captain Gilbert, had not the winter proved so extreme unseasonable and frosty; for it being the year 1607, when the extraordinary frost was felt in most parts of Europe, it was here likewise as vehement, by which no boat could stir upon any business. Howbeit, as time and occasion gave leave, there was nothing omitted which could add unto the benefit or knowledge of the planters, for which, when Captain Davies arrived there in the year following (set out from Topsam, the port town of Exciter, with a ship laden full of victuals, arms, instruments, and tools, &c.), albeit he found Mr. George Popham, the president, and some other dead, yet he found all things in a good forwardness, and many kinds of furs obtained from the Indians by way of trade, good store of sarsaparilla gathered, and the new pinnace all finished. But by reason that Captain Gilbert received letters that his brother was newly dead, and a fair portion of his land fallen unto his share, which required his repair home, and no mines discovered, nor hope thereof, being the main intended benefit expected to uphold the charge of this plantation, and the fear that all the other winters would prove like this first, the company by no means would stay any longer in the country, especially Captain Gilbert being to leave them, and Mr. Popham, as aforesaid, dead; wherefore they all embarked in this new arrived ship, and in the new pinnace, the "Virginia," and set sail for England. And this was the end of that northern colony upon the River Sachadehoc.]

* At this point the style of Strachey's narrative changes. The journal of Davies may have been exhausted, or he may have continued it in abstract, or the part which follows may have been drawn from another hand. — B. F. D.

† It is nowhere stated that the "Gift" returned in 1607. It is possible, notwithstanding what might be inferred from Strachey, that she remained during the winter. — B. F. D.

‡ We should undoubtedly read *five*. — B. F. D.

APPENDIX.

The original sources of information concerning the Sagadahoc Colony, which were known previous to the publication of the Strachey volume in 1849, by the Hakluyt Society, were,—1. Sir Ferdinando Gorges's "Brief Narration," written not long before his death, in 1647, and left in manuscript, and not published till 1658. The narrative is strangely wanting, in many parts of it, in dates; and many of the dates which are introduced are erroneous. Some of its errors are probably due to a lack of memory, others to a faulty press. Notwithstanding all these defects, the book is indispensable, and many of its errors may be corrected by other writings. Only a small part of the tract relates to the Sagadahoc Colony. 2. The "Brief Relation" of the President and Council for New England, published in 1622. The Council for New England was substantially a reincorporation of the first or Northern Colony of Virginia; and inherited its traditions, and entered into its labors. 3. Smith's "Generall Historie," pp. 203, 204, published in 1624. This book has some details taken from original sources. 4. Purchas's "Pilgrimage," 1614. In the margin, at p. 756, and repeated in the later editions of 1617 and 1626, are some detached facts about the colony, which the compiler selected from the letters or journals of the colonists, and from the notes of Hakluyt, whose papers came into Purchas's possession. From all these sources combined, the account afforded of the Sagadahoc settlement is of the most meagre character. We fail to get more than a glimpse of the life of the colony during the severe winter they experienced there, and of the circumstances attending the return of more than half the colonists in December, and of the final breaking up and return of the remainder, when the ship or "ships" came back with supplies the next year. Besides, we were sadly deficient in data for the greater part of the events. Neither did the Strachey narrative, published thirty years ago, supply these desiderata, as regards the concluding part of the colonists' history, nor, indeed, does that we now publish, which is substantially the basis or Strachey's account. We shall yet have to wait patiently for the letters or journals of other colonists, namely, John Eliot, George Popham, Raleigh Gilbert, and Edward Harlow, seen by Purchas, to come to light.

We now extract for publication, as an appendix to the foregoing narrative of the Sagadahoc Colony, the several accounts named above, in order that the reader may have before him all the original sources of information that our early chronicles afford. In the editorial Preface, we have already made several extracts from these accounts. We also append a brief extract from Sir William Alexander's "Encouragement to Colonies."

B. F. D.

From Sir Ferdinando Gorges's "Brief Narration." London, 1658, pp. 8-10.

"The Despatch of the First Plantation, for the Second Colony sent from Plymouth."

"By the same authority all things fully agreed upon between both the Colonies, the Lord Chief Justice [Popham], his friends and associates of the West Country, sent from Plymouth Captain Popham as president for that employment, with Captain Rawley Gilbert and divers other gentlemen of note in three sail of ships* with one hundred landmen, for the seizing such a place as they were directed unto by the Council of that colony, who departed from the coast of England the one and thirtieth day of May, A. D. 1607, and arrived at their rendezvous the 8th of August following; as soon as the president had taken notice of the place, and given order for landing the provisions, he despatched away Captain Gilbert, with Skitwarres his guide, for the thorough discovery of the rivers and habitations of the natives, by whom he was brought to several of them, where he found civil entertainment, and kind respects, far from brutish or savage natures, so as they suddenly became familiar friends, especially by the means of Dehamda and Skitwarrers, who had been in England; Dehamda being sent by the Lord Chief Justice with Captain Prin, and Skitwarres by me in company, so as the president was earnestly entreated by Sassonow, Aberemet, and others the principal Sagamores (as they call their great lords), to go to the Bashabas, who, it seems, was their king, and held a state agreeable, expecting that all strangers should have their address to him, not he to them.

"To whom the president would have gone after several invitations, but was hindered by cross winds and foul weather, so as he was forced to return back, without making good what he had promised, much to the grief of those Sagamores that were to attend him. The Bashabas notwithstanding, hearing of his misfortune, sent his own son to visit him, and to beat a trade with him for furs. How it succeeded, I could not understand, for that the ships were to be despatched away for England, the winter being already come; for it was the fifteenth day of December before they set sail to return, who brought with them the success of what had past in that employment, which so soon as it came to the Lord Chief Justice's hands, he gave out order to the council for sending them back with supplies necessary.†

"The supplies being furnished and all things ready only attending for a fair wind, which happened not before the news of the Chief Justice's death was posted to them to be transported to the discomfort of the poor planters; but the ships arriving there in good time was a

* Strachey, and our narrative, which he used, and the "Brief Relation," say *two ships*. — B. F. D.

† Sir Ferdinando's memory is here at fault. Chief Justice Popham had died as early as the 7th June, 1607, a week only after the expedition sailed for Sagadahoc. His son, Sir Francis Popham, interested himself in sending the supplies. Strachey speaks of but one ship being despatched for England, the "Mary and John." — B. F. D.

great refreshing to those that had had their storehouse and most of their provisions burnt the winter before.

“Besides that, they were strangely perplexed with the great and unseasonable cold they suffered with that extremity, as the like hath not been heard of since, and it seems was universal, it being the same year that our Thames was so locked up that they built their boats upon it, and sold provisions of several sorts to those that delighted in the novelties of the times. But the miseries they had past were nothing to that they suffered by the disastrous news they received of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, that suddenly followed the death of their president; but the latter was not so strange, in that he was well stricken in years before he went, and had long been an infirm man. Howsoever heartened by hopes, willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God, and honorable to his country, but that of the death of the Chief Justice was such a corrosive to all as struck them with despair of future remedy, and it was the more augmented, when they heard of the [death of] Sir John Gilbert, elder brother of Ralph Gilbert* that was then their president, a man worthy to be beloved of them all for his industry and care for their well being. The president was to return to settle the estate his brother had left him, upon which all resolved to quit the place, and with one consent to [come] away, by which means all our former hopes were frozen to death, though Sir Francis Popham could not so give it over, but continued to send thither several years after in hope of better fortunes, but found it fruitless, and was necessitated at last to sit down with the loss he had already undergone.

“Although I was interested in all those misfortunes, and found it wholly given over by the body of the adventurers, as well for that they had lost the principal support of the design, as also that the country itself was branded by the return of the plantation, as being over-cold, and in respect of that, not habitable by our nation.

“Besides, they understood it to be a task too great for particular persons to undertake, though the country itself, the rivers, havens, harbors, upon that coast might in time prove profitable to us.

“These last acknowledgments bound me confidently to prosecute my first resolution, not doubting but God would effect that which man despaired of, as for those reasons, the causes of others’ discouragements, the first only was given to me, in that I had lost so noble a friend, and my nation so worthy a subject. As for the coldness of the clime, I had had too much experience in the world to be frightened with such a blâst, as knowing many great kingdoms and large territories more northerly seated, and by many degrees colder than the clime from whence they came, yet plentifully inhabited, and divers of them stored with no better commodities from trade and commerce than those parts afforded, if like industry, art, and labor be used, for the last I had no reason greatly to despair of means when God should be pleased, by our ordinary frequenting that country, to make it appear, it would

* Rawley Gilbert. — B. F. D.

yield both profit and content to as many as aimed thereat, these being truly, for the most part, the motives that all men labor, howsoever otherwise adjoined, with fair colors and goodly shadows."

*From "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England." London, 1622, pp. 2-4.**

"Hereupon Captain Popham, Captain Rawley Gilbert, and others were sent away with two ships and an hundred landmen, ordnance, and other provisions necessary for their sustentation and defence, until other supply might be sent. In the mean while, before they could return, it pleased God to take from us this worthy member, the Lord Chief Justice, whose sudden death did so astonish the hearts of the most part of the adventurers, as some grew cold, and some did wholly abandon the business. Yet Sir Francis Popham, his son, certain of his private friends, and other of us, omitted not the next year, holding on our first resolution, to join in sending forth a new supply, which was accordingly performed.

"But the ships arriving there did not only bring uncomfortable news of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, together with the death of Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother unto Captain Rawley Gilbert, who at that time was president of that council, but found that the old Captain Popham was also dead; who was the only man, indeed, that died there that winter, wherein they endured the greater extremities; for that in the depth thereof, their lodgings and stores were burnt, and they thereby wondrously distressed.

"This calamity and evil news, together with the resolution that Captain Gilbert was forced to take for his own return (in that he was to succeed his brother in the inheritance of his lands in England), made the whole company to resolve upon nothing but their return with the ships; and for that present to leave the country again, having in the time of their abode there (notwithstanding the coldness of the season, and the small help they had), built a pretty bark of their own, which served them to good purpose, as easing them in their returning.

"The arrival of these people here in England was a wonderful discouragement to all the first undertakers, insomuch as there was no more speech of settling any other plantation in those parts for a long time after; only Sir Francis Popham having the ships and provision which remained of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coasts for trade and fishing; of whose loss or gains himself is best able to give account.

* After relating the sending out of Captain Henry Challons, whose voyage was "overthrown"; and the despatch of Captain Thomas Hanam, to "second" Challons, who could not be found; and that the Lord Chief Justice Popham, and his associates, on Hanam's favorable report of the country, "waxed so confident of the business, that the year following every man of any worth, formerly interested in it, was willing to join in the charge for sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopeful plantation," the narrative proceeds as above. — B. F. D.

"Our people abandoning the plantation in this sort as you have heard, the Frenchmen immediately took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits." *

From Captain John Smith's "Generall Historie of New England," fol. London, 1624, pp. 203, 204.

"Concerning this History you are to understand the letters-patents granted by his Majesty in 1606, for the limitation of Virginia, did extend from 34° to 44°, which was divided in two parts; namely, the first colony and the second. The first was to the honorable city of London, and such as would adventure with them to discover and take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34 and 41. The second was appropriated to the cities of Bristol, Exeter, and Plimoth, &c., and the west parts of England, and all those that would adventure and join with them, and they might make their choice anywhere betwixt the degrees of 38 and 44, provided there should be at least one hundred miles distance betwixt these two colonies, each of which had laws, privileges, and authority for the government, and advancing their several plantations alike. Now this part of America hath formerly been called Norumbega, Virginia, Nuskoneus, Penaquida, Cannada, and such other names as those that ranged the coast pleased. But because it was so mountainous, rocky, and full of isles, few have adventured much to trouble it, but as is formerly related; notwithstanding, that honorable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, in the year 1606, procured means and men to possess it, and sent Captain George Popham for President; Captain Rawley Gilbert for Admiral; Captain Edward Harlow, Master of the Ordnance; Captain Robert Davis, Sergeant-Major; Captain Elis Best, Marshal; Master Seaman, Secretary; Captain James Davis to be Captain of the Fort; Master Gome Carew, Chief Searcher. All those were of the Council, who, with some hundred more, were to stay in the country. They set sail from Plimouth the last of May, and fell with Monahigan the 11th of August. At Sagadahock, nine or ten leagues southward, they planted themselves at the mouth of a fair, navigable river, but the coast all thereabouts most extreme stony and rocky; that extreme frozen winter was so cold they could not range nor search the country, and their provision so small, they were glad to send all but forty-five of their company back again. Their noble president, Captain Popham, died, and not long after arrived two ships well provided of all necessities to supply them, and some small time after another,† by whom under-

* The narrative then proceeds to speak of Argall's expedition, in which he proceeded "to displace" the Frenchmen who had built forts at "Mount Mansell, Saint Croix, and Port Reall." — B. F. D.

† Strachey, p. 179, speaks of but one ship returning to the colony with supplies, that commanded by Captain (Robert) Davies, adding, that in this ship and the new pinnace, the "Virginia," the colony "all embarked" for England. — B. F. D.

standing of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, and also of Sir John Gilbert, whose lands there the president, Rawley Gilbert, was to possess, according to the adventurer's directions, finding nothing but extreme extremities, they all returned for England in the year 1608, and thus this plantation was begun and ended in one year, and the country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky desert."

*From Purchas's "Pilgrimage." London, 1614, p. 756.**

"A. D. 1607, was settled a plantation in the River Sagadahoc; the ships called the "Gift" and the "Mary and John,† being sent thither by that famous English Justicer, Sir John Popham, and others. They found this coast of Virginia full of islands, but safe. They chose the place of their plantation at the mouth of Sagadahoc, in a westerly peninsula: there heard a sermon, read their patent and laws, and built a fort. They sailed up to discover the river and country, and encountered with an island where was a great fall of water, over which they hauled their boat with a rope, and came to another fall, shallow, swift, and unpassable. They found the country stored with grapes, white and red, good hops, onions, garlic, oaks, walnuts, the soil good. The head of the river is in forty-five and odd minutes. Cape Sinicamis in 43° 30', a good place to fortify. Their fort bare name of Saint George. Forty-five remained there,‡ Captain George Popham being President, Raleigh Gilbert, Admiral. The people seemed affected with our men's devotions, and would say King James is a good king, his God a good God, and Tanto naught. So they call an evil spirit which haunts them every moon, and makes them worship him for fear. He commanded them not to dwell near or come among the English, threatening to kill some and inflict sickness on others, beginning with two of their Sagamos children, saying he had power, and would do the like to the English the next moon, to wit, in Decémber.

"The people§ told our men of caunibals, near Sagadahoc, with teeth three inches long, but they saw them not. In the river of Tamescot they found oysters nine inches in length; and were told that on the other side there were twice as great. On the 18th of January they had, in seven hours' space, thunder, lightning, rain, frost, snow, all in abundance, the last continuing. On February 5 the president died. The savages remove their dwellings in winter nearest the deer. They have a kind of shoes a yard long, fourteen inches broad, made like a racket, with strong twine or sinews of a deer; in the midst is a hole wherein they put their foot, buckling it fast. When a Sagamos dieth they black themselves, and at the same time yearly renew their mourning with great howling; as they then did for Kashurakeny, who

* In the margin of the book from which this account is taken, Purchas places his authorities. We have therefore placed these names at foot, leading from the words in the text as they are given in Purchas. — B. F. D.

† James Davies.

‡ Jo. Eliot. G. Pop. Let. to S. I. Gilbert and E. S.

§ Ral. Gilbert.

died the year before. They report that the cannibals have a sea behind them. They found a bath two miles about, so hot that they could not drink it. Mr. Patteson was slain by the savages of Nanhoc, a river of the Tarentines. Their short commons* caused fear of mutiny. One of the savages, called Aminquin, for a straw hat and knife given him, stripped himself of his clothing of beaver's skins, worth in England fifty shillings or three pounds, to present them to the president, leaving only a flap to cover his privities. He would also have come with them for England. In winter they are poor† and weak, and do not then company with their wives, but in summer when they are fat and lusty. But your eyes wearied with this Northern view, which in that winter communicated with us in extremity of cold, look now for greater hopes in the Southern Plantation, as the right arm of this Virginian body, with greater costs and numbers furnished from hence."‡

From Sir William Alexander's "Encouragement to Colonies," &c. London, 1624, p. 30. §

"That which is now called New England was first comprehended within the patent of Virginia, being the north-east part thereof. It was undertaken in a patent by a company of gentlemen in the west of England, one of whom was Sir John Popham, then chief justice, who sent the first company that went of purpose to inhabit there near to Sagadahoc; but those that went thither, being pressed to that enterprise, as endangered by the law, or by their own necessities (no enforced thing proving pleasant, discontented persons suffering, while as they act can seldom have good success and never satisfaction), they after a winter stay, dreaming to themselves of new hopes at home, returned back with the first occasion, and to justify the suddenness of their return, they did coin many excuses, burdening the bounds where they had been with all the aspersions that possibly could devise, seeking by that means to discourage all others, whose provident forwardness in importuning a good success, might make their base sluggishness for abandoning the beginning of a good work to be the more condemned."

* Edward Harley.

† Other notes ap. Hak.

‡ This extract was first published in this, the second edition, of the "Pilgrimage"; also in the third edition, 1617, and in the fourth, 1626. A copy of this last edition usually accompanies the four volumes of Purchas's "Pilgrims," London, 1625, another work, and is commonly cited as vol. v. of that book.—B. F. D.

§ In printing this extract from Sir William Alexander, we would remark, that the phrase "endangered by the law," might refer to poor debtors, and does not necessarily imply that the Sagadahoc colonists, or any part of them, were criminals. We have seen no evidence that they bore that character, and no laws existed at that time authorizing the transportation of criminals to Virginia.—B. F. D.

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from the Editor

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LETTERS

OF

COLUMBUS AND VESPUCCIUS.

[REPRINTED FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.]

1878.

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LETTERS

OF

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

AND

AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

GEORGE DEXTER, A.M.,

RECORDING SECRETARY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Society.

BOSTON:

PRESS OF JOHN WILSON AND SON.

1878.



LETTERS

OF

COLUMBUS AND VESPUCCIUS.

At the stated meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held in Boston on Thursday the 10th of October, 1878, Mr. GEORGE DEXTER called attention to the volume entitled "*Cartas de Indias publicadas por primera vez*," presented at a previous meeting, and said:—

This sumptuous volume, a large quarto, prepared by a royal commission presided over by the Director-general of public Instruction, and published under the auspices of the Ministry of Fomento of the Spanish government, contains a large number of hitherto unpublished letters and reports relating to the discovery and early history of America. These documents, drawn from the National Historical Archives of Spain, the commissioners have separated into six classes. The first class consists of two letters of Columbus, one of Vespuccius, two of Bishop Las Casas, and two of Bernal Diaz del Castillo. The second class or division contains sixty-five documents relating to New Spain, which are classified again under the heads of Friars, Prelates, Clergy, Viceroy, Governors, Caciques, Officers of justice and administration, and Individuals. Here we find letters or communications from various missionaries, bishops, governors, and others connected with the colony. The third class, under the title of Central America, contains letters from the Bishops of Guatemala and Chiapa; the fourth, Peru, papers of the *Licenciados* Cristóbal Vaca de Castro and Pedro de la Gasca. The fifth division contains documents

relating to the province of Rio de la Plata during the administration of Martinez de Irala (1555-56). The sixth class consists of a petition of the Bishop of Manilla to the President of the Council of the Indies, giving an account of the state of the Philippine Islands in 1585, and their religious needs. There are in all one hundred and eight documents in the volume.

The work is enriched with critical notes, a geographical vocabulary, short biographical sketches, a glossary of foreign and little used words; and, as a fit crown of its merits, photo-lithographic *fac-similes* of some of the more important documents printed in it. There are also twenty-two sheets of reproductions of signatures and seals, and three maps, printed in colors, which, although having no immediate relation to the text of the work, are curious and of great interest. The volume is beautifully printed, upon paper made especially for the purpose, and with new types cast for the work. The preface states that the greatest care and labor have been used to secure accuracy. His Excellency the Count de Toreno, the Minister of "Fomento," has presented this copy to the Library of the Society through our own State Department at Washington.

I have caused translations to be made of the letters of Columbus and Vespuccius, which I beg leave to submit to the Society. They may, perhaps, be thought worthy of a place in our printed Proceedings. The first letter of Columbus is without date. The editors of the volume, having in mind the instructions given to Columbus, April 23d, 1497, "for the peopling of the islands and *terra firma* discovered and to be discovered in the Indies,"* are of opinion that this letter must have been written toward the end of the year 1496, or the beginning of 1497. I felt confident on first reading the

* Printed by Navarrete, in his *Coleccion de los Viajes y Descubrimientos*, vol. ii. pp. 182-185. Spotorno had, in 1823, published an Italian translation from a copy found among the "Charters and Grants" sent by Columbus to his friend Nicolo Oderrigo for safe keeping, then lately obtained by the Genoese government. These instructions are Spotorno's Document, No. VI. An English translation of this work was published in London the same year.

letter that it must be of earlier date, and subsequent examination has confirmed me in this opinion. The matters of which it treats are those that would naturally be attended to and defined quite early in the history of the colonization of a new-found country. Columbus returned from his first voyage in the spring of 1493, reaching Palos on the 15th of March, and was received by Ferdinand and Isabella at Barcelona about the middle of April. But the plans for a second voyage and the establishment of a colony did not wait even his formal reception. Navarrete prints a letter from their Majesties, dated March 30th, congratulating him on his discovery, and charging him to hasten to the Court to give orders for the preparation for his return to the New World.*

The papal bulls of concession had been sought at once from Alexander VI., and bear date of May 3d and 4th. Royal grants to Columbus, and royal selection of proper officers for revenue and colonization, followed rapidly. The nineteenth document in Navarrete's second volume, dated May 7th, appoints Gomez Tello to go to the Indies with Columbus, to receive and send to Castile what belongs to their Highnesses.† On the 23d of May, many requisitions for things needed for the new voyage were signed; all persons were forbidden to go to the Indies or to send goods there, without the royal sanction or that of Columbus and Juan de Fonseca, by a decree of the same date;‡ and Alvaro de Acosta was appointed *alguacil* to administer justice on the voyage and in the islands, the next day. § Columbus was confirmed in his title of "Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor of the islands and *terra firma*, both what he had discovered and what he might discover," on May 28th; and his instructions, "as well for the voyage which he is to make as for the good government of the new colony," || were signed on the 29th. These instructions seem to me to cover all the ground, and to settle the question of the date of

* Navarrete, Coleccion, vol. ii. p. 21.

† Gomez Tello did not go out with Columbus. See Navarrete, vol. ii. p. 86.

‡ Navarrete, Coleccion, &c., vol. ii. p. 51.

§ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 54.

|| Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 57-62, 66-72.

this letter. After impressing upon Columbus the necessity of treating the natives well, and of striving to convert them to the true faith, for which purpose Father Buil and other clergy are sent with him, and giving particular directions for the choice of vessels, enrolment of crews, and registration of armament and goods, the instructions proceed in the eighth section to lay down the regulations and order of landing and discharging at the end of the voyage. Each ship is to declare and show all that it carries,—men, arms, ammunition, provisions, &c.; “and because no person is allowed to carry merchandise to open trade for gold or other things in all the said islands and *terra firma* without the order of their Highnesses, as has been said, if it happens that they arrive with more than was manifested at the time of departure from Cadiz, as was set down in the book which the lieutenant of the aforesaid accountant-general who is to reside in the said islands has brought with him, let it be condemned, and let the said Admiral and Viceroy, or whoever holds the power from him, cause it to be taken and give it to the person who is appointed to keep the goods, which their Highnesses send there, in presence of the said lieutenant of the accountant, that he may take charge of it.” *

The ninth section lays down regulations for trade in the islands; the tenth appoints courts of justice. The fourteenth provides that, immediately upon arrival, a custom-house shall be established where merchandise shall be entered before the proper officials and registered in two books. The seventeenth article recounts the formalities required at the port of Cadiz, whence all articles are to go to the islands, and where all re-

* “E porque ninguna ni algunas personas non han de llevar mercaderías algunas para facer rescate alguno de oro ni de otras cosas en todas las dichas islas é tierra-firme, sin mandamiento de sus Altezas, como dicho es, si acaesciere llevaren mas de lo que manifestaron al tiempo que de Castilla partieron, segun fuere asentado en el libro que ha de llevar el que fuere por Teniente de los dichos Contadores mayores, que ha de residir en las dichas islas, que lo pierdan, é ge lo faga tomar el dicho Almirante é Visorey, ó quien su poder hobiere, é lo entregue á la persona que por sus Altezas ha de tener allá la mercadería que sus Altezas envían, en presencia del dicho Teniente de los Contadores, porque él le faga cargo dello.” — Navarrete, vol. ii. p. 69.

turning vessels are to discharge. These instructions, apart from their bearing on the question under discussion, are interesting, and, so far as I have been able to inform myself, have never been printed except by Señor Navarrete.

If further testimony be needed, we have in the forty-seventh, forty-eighth, and forty-ninth documents of Navarrete's second volume, under date of June 7th, 1493, the appointment of Bernal Diaz de Pisa as Deputy Accountant-General, a grant of salary to him, and his instructions. These last exhibit many minute details of the regulations for trade and manner of keeping accounts. Again, the fifty-ninth document, dated August 4th, informs Columbus that Sebastian de Olano is to go out as their Majesties' receiver (*Receptor*).

Columbus sailed from Palos, on his second voyage, September 25th, 1493. He had a large fleet, seventeen vessels in all; a company of about fifteen hundred souls, having been obliged to refuse many who offered; a supply of provisions, seeds for harvest, some animals and other necessities of colonization.* At the Island of Gomera, he took in many live animals with which to stock Hispaniola, and seeds of various fruits.† It was on this voyage, too, that he did what would be expected from this letter, — built a city or town which he called Isabella, and laid the foundations for a regular colony, with trade to the mother country and the neighborhood. So much is stated by nearly all his biographers.

There would seem to be little room for doubt, then, that this letter was written some time during the interval between the return of Columbus from his first voyage and his departure on the second; that is, between March 15th and September 25th, 1493.

The National Historical Archives possess two copies of this letter, which, with the exception of the signature, is not in the handwriting of Columbus. The variations between these copies — so slight as scarcely to be worth noticing — are carefully enumerated by the editor of the “*Cartas de Indias*” in

* *Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo*, chap. xliv.

† *Irving's Columbus* (London, 1828), vol. ii. pp. 3, 4.

a note. In another note on the signature of Columbus, he calls attention to the variation between the signatures of these letters and Columbus's signature, as given by Navarrete and Washington Irving. The signatures given by these authors, however, do not pretend to be *fac-similes*, but are printed in ordinary type. There are many *fac-simile* reproductions of Columbus's signature; but they are all, or nearly all, derived from the letters now preserved in the receptacle prepared for them by the Genoese authorities in 1821. Lithographs of two of these letters were published by Spotorno in his "Codice Diplomatico," in 1823. Bossi's "Vita di Cristoforo Colombo," Milan, 1818, has as a frontispiece the De Bry portrait with the signatures of these letters, then in Turin, annexed. Marmocchi's "Viaggi al Nuovo Continente," Prato, 1840, contains the portrait that appeared with the French translation of Navarrete, to which is added one of the Spotorno signatures. Mr. Goodrich, in his "Life of Columbus," New York, 1874, gives several *fac-similes*, all of which can, I think, be traced back to Spotorno. Columbus himself, in his will, describes how his signature is to be written, and orders his heirs to sign with it.* One peculiarity, new to me, is stated by the Spanish editor, and is perhaps worth noticing. He says that he has examined various autographs of Columbus, including some of the letters to his son Diego, published by Navarrete, and finds that Columbus made a distinction between letters written by another hand and only signed by himself, and holograph letters. To the signature of the last he was accustomed to add a rubric or flourish. This distinction will be easily noticed in comparing the signatures to the first and second of the letters here printed. I do not remember to have seen elsewhere any allusion to a rubric connected with Columbus's signature.†

* Navarrete, vol. ii. p. 229. Irving's Columbus (Lond. 1828), vol. iv. p. 421.

† The Cabinet of our Society contains photographs of three letters preserved in Genoa, two of them being those published by Spotorno. The third is the letter, of which an Italian translation was read to the Maryland Historical Society as the original, by Mr. Robert Dodge, in 1851. The colon before the *Xpo* appears in neither signature, nor is there any sign of a rubric.

Toward the close of the second letter, Columbus alludes to the bad weather when the Spanish Court was at Burgos in 1497. This must have been early in the year, for the Court was then awaiting the return of the fleet from Flanders. This fleet had carried out the Infanta Joanna, who was to be married to the Archduke Philip, and was bringing back the Princess Margaret, the Emperor Maximilian's daughter, the destined bride of the heir of the Spanish monarchies. The fleet arrived early in March, and the wedding was solemnized April 3d. *

The letter of Vespuccius offers nothing that demands remark. The signature shows plainly the name spelled Amerigo. It may be compared with the *fac-simile* of a signature given by F. A. de Varnhagen, in his "Amerigo Vespucci," Lima, 1865, p. 68, n., as the genuine signature of Vespuccius.

* See Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, Part II. chap. iv.

A Letter of Christopher Columbus to their Catholic Majesties concerning the colonization and commerce of Hispaniola, and of the other Islands, discovered and to be discovered. Without date.

MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY SOVEREIGNS, — In obedience to your Highnesses' commands, and with submission to superior judgment, I will say whatever occurs to me in reference to the colonization and commerce of the Island of Española, and of the other islands, both those already discovered and those that may be discovered hereafter.

In the first place, as regards the Island of Española: Inasmuch as the number of colonists who desire to go thither amounts to two thousand, owing to the land being safer and better for farming and trading, and because it will serve as a place to which they can return and from which they can carry on trade with the neighboring islands:

Item. That in the said island there shall be founded three or four towns, situated in the most convenient places, and that the settlers who are there be assigned to the aforesaid places and towns.

Item. That for the better and more speedy colonization of the said island, no one shall have liberty to collect gold in it except those who have taken out colonists' papers [*tomaren veçindad*], and have built houses for their abode, in the town in which they are, that they may live united and in greater safety.

Item. That each town shall have its alcalde or alcaldes, and its notary public, as is the use and custom in Castile.

Charta de Cristóbal Colon á los Reyes Católicos, acerca de la poblacion y negociacion de la Española y de las otras islas descubiertas y por descubrir. Sin fecha.

MUY ALTOS Y PODEROSOS SEÑORES, — Obedesciendo lo que vuestras alteças me mandaron, diré lo que me ocurre para la poblacion y negociacion, asy de la Ysla Española como de las otras, asy halladas como por hallar, sometendome á mejor paresçer.

Primeramente, para en lo de la Ysla Española, que vayan hasta en número de dos mill veçinos, los que quisieren yr, porque la tierra esté más segura y se pueda mejor grangear é tratar, y servirá para que se puedan rebover y traten las ysas comarcas.

Yten, que en la dicha ysla se hagan tres o cuatro pueblos é repartidos en los lugares más convenibles, é los veçinos que allá fueren, sean repartidos por los dichos lugares y pueblos.

Yten, que porque mejor y más presto se pueble la dicha ysla, que ninguno tenga facultad para cojer oro en ella, salvo los que tomaren veçindad é hiçieren casas para su morada en la poblacion que estovieren, porque vivan juntamente y más seguros.

Yten, que en cada lugar é poblacion haya su alcalde o alcaldes con su escribano del pueblo, segun uso é costumbre de Castilla.

Item. That there shall be a church, and parish priests or friars to administer the sacraments, to perform divine worship, and for the conversion of the Indians.

Item. That none of the colonists shall go to seek gold without a license from the governor or alcalde of the town where he lives; and that he must first take oath to return to the place whence he sets out, for the purpose of registering faithfully all the gold he may have found, and to return once a month, or once a week, as the time may have been set for him, to render account and show the quantity of said gold; and that this shall be written down by the notary before the alcalde, or, if it seems better, that a friar or priest, deputed for the purpose, shall be also present.

Item. That all the gold thus brought in shall be smelted immediately, and stamped with some mark that shall distinguish each town; and that the portion which belongs to your Highnesses shall be weighed, and given and consigned to each alcalde in his own town, and registered by the above-mentioned priest or friar, so that it shall not pass through the hands of only one person, and there shall be no opportunity to conceal the truth.

Item. That all gold that may be found without the mark of one of the said towns in the possession of any one who has once registered in accordance with the above order shall be taken as forfeited, and that the accuser shall have one portion of it and your Highnesses the other.

Item. That one per centum of all the gold that may be found shall be set aside for building churches and adorning the same, and for the support of the priests or friars belonging to them; and, if it should be thought proper to pay any thing to the alcaldes or notaries for their

Yten, que haya iglesia y abades o frayles para adminystracion de los sacramentos y cultos divinos y para conversion de los yndios.

Yten, que ninguno de los vezinos pueda yr á cojer oro, salvo con licencia del governador o alcalde del lugar donde biviere, y que primero haga juramento de volver al mysmo lugar de do saliere, á registrar fielmente todo el oro que oviere cogido y avido, y de volver una vez en el mes o en la semana, segun el tiempo le fuere asygnado, á dar quenta é manifestar la cantidad del dicho oro, é que se escriba por el escrivano del pueblo por ante el alcalde, y sy paresciere, que haya asy mesmo un frayle o abad deputado para ello.

Yten, que todo el oro que asy se traxere, se aya luego de fundir y marcar de alguna marca que cada pueblo señalare, y que se pese y se dé y se entregue, á cada alcalde en su lugar, la parte que pertenesciere á vuestras alteças, y se escriba por el dicho abad o frayle de mánera que no pase por una sola mano, y asy no se pueda çelar la verdad.

Yten, que todo el oro que se hallare syn la marca de los dichos pueblos en poder de los que ovieren una vez registrado por la orden susodicha, le sea tomado por perdido, é haya una parte el acusador y lo ál para vuestras alteças.

Yten, que de todo el oro que oviere, se saque uno por ciento para la fábrica de las yglesias y ornamentos dellas é para sustentacion de los abades o frayles dellas; y sy paresciere que á los alcaldes y escrivanos se dé algo por

services, or for ensuring the faithful performance of their duties, that this amount shall be sent to the governor or treasurer who may be appointed there by your Highnesses.

Item. As regards the division of the gold, and the share that ought to be reserved for your Highnesses, this, in my opinion, must be left to the aforesaid governor and treasurer, because it will have to be greater or less according to the quantity of gold that may be found. Or, should it seem preferable, your Highnesses might, for the space of one year, take one half, and the collector the other, and a better arrangement for the division be made afterward.*

Item. That if the said alcaldes or notaries shall commit or be privy to any fraud, punishment shall be provided, and the same for the colonists who shall not have declared all the gold they have.

Item. That in the said island there shall be a treasurer, with a clerk to assist him, who shall receive all the gold belonging to your Highnesses, and the alcaldes and notaries of the towns shall each keep a record of what they deliver to the said treasurer.

Item. As, in the eagerness to get gold, every one will wish, naturally, to engage in its search in preference to any other employment, it seems to me that the privilege of going to look for gold ought to be withheld during some portion of each year, that there may be opportunity to have the other business necessary for the island performed.

Item. In regard to the discovery of new countries, I think permission should be granted to all that wish to go, and more liberality used

su trabajo y porque agan fielmente sus oficios, que se remita al gobernador y thesorero que allá fueren por vuestras alteças.

Yten, quanto toca á la division del oro é de la parte que ovieren de aver vuestras alteças, esto, á my ver, deve ser remitido á los dichos gobernador y thesorero, porque averá ser más o menos segun la cantidad del oro que se hallare; o sy paresciere, que por tiempo de un año ayan vuestras alteças la mitad y los cojedores la otra mitad, ca despues podrá mejor determinarse cerca del dicho repartimiento.

Yten, que sy los dichos alcaldes y escrivanos hiçieren o consintieren algun fraude, se le ponga pena é asy mismo á los veçinos que por entero non manifestaren todo el oro que ovieren.

Yten, que en la dicha ysla haya thesorero que reciva todo el oro pertenesciente á vuestras alteças y tenga su escrivano que lo assiente, é los alcaldes y escrivanos de los otros pueblos, cada uno tome conoscimiento de lo que entregaren al dicho thesorero.

Yten, porque segun la codicia del oro, cada uno querrá más ocuparse en ello, que en haçer otras grangerias, paresceme que alguna temporada del año se le deva defender la liçencia de yr á buscar oro, para que haya lugar que se hagan en la dicha ysla otras grangerias á ellas pertenescientes.

Yten, pará en lo de descobrir de nuevas tierras, paresceme se deva dar liçencia á todos los que quisieren yr, y alargar la mano en lo del quinto,

* The sovereigns demanded two-thirds of all the gold found as early as 1495. See Navarrete, vol. ii. p. 166.

in the matter of the fifth, making the tax easier, in some fair way, in order that many may be disposed to go on voyages.*

I will now give my opinion about ships going to the said Island of Española, and the order that should be maintained; and that is, that the said ships should only be allowed to discharge in one or two ports designated for the purpose, and should register there whatever cargo they bring or unload; and when the time for their departure comes, that they should sail from these same ports, and register all the cargo they take in, that nothing may be concealed.

Item. In reference to the transportation of gold from the island to Castile, that all of it should be taken on board the ship, both that belonging to your Highnesses and the property of every one else; that it should all be placed in one chest with two locks, with their keys, and that the master of the vessel keep one key and some person selected by the governor and treasurer the other; that there should come with the gold, for a testimony, a list of all that has been put into the said chest, properly marked, so that each owner may receive his own; and that, for the faithful performance of this duty, if any gold whatsoever is found outside of the said chest in any way, be it little or much, it shall be forfeited to your Highnesses.

Item. That all the ships that come from the said island shall be obliged to make their proper discharge in the port of Cadiz, and that no person shall disembark or other person be permitted to go on board until the ship has been visited by the person or persons deputed for that purpose, in the said city, by your Highnesses, to whom the master

moderandolo en alguna buena manera, á fin de que muchos se dispongan á yr.

Ahora diré mi parescer para la yda de los navios á la dicha Ysla Española, é la orden que se deva guardar, ques la siguiente: Que no puedan yr los dichos navios á descargar, salvo en uno o dos puertos para ello señalados, y ende registren todo lo que llevaren é descargaren; y cuando ovieren de partir, sea de los mismos puertos, é registren todo lo que cargaren, porque no se encubra cosa alguna.

Yten, que cerca del oro que se oviere de traer de las yslas para Castilla, que todo lo que se oviere de cargar, asy lo que fuere de vuestras alteças, como de cualesquier presonas, todo ello se ponga en una arca que tenga dos cerraduras con sus llaves, y quel maestro tenga la una, y otro presona quel gobernador y tesorero escogeren la otra; é venga por testimonyo la relacion de todo lo que se pusiere en la dicha arca, é señalado, para que cada uno aya lo suyo: y sy otro oro alguno se hallare fuera de la dicha arca en cualquier manera, poco o mucho, sea perdido, á fin que se haga fielmente y sea para vuestras alteças.

Yten, que todos los navios que vinieren de la dicha ysla, vengán á haçer su derecha descarga al puerto de Cadiz, y no salga presona dellos ny entren otros, hasta que vayan á los dichos navios la presona o presonas que para ello por vuestras altezas fueren deputadas en la dicha cibdad, á quien los maestros manifiesten todo lo que traen y muestren la fe de lo

* Perhaps some light is thrown upon this tax of one-fifth by the documents Numbers V. and VI. of the Appendix to Navarrete's second volume.

shall show all that he carries, and exhibit the manifest of all the cargo, that it may be seen and examined if the said ship brings any thing hidden and not known at the time of lading.

Item. That the chest in which the said gold has been carried shall be opened in the presence of the magistrates of the said city of Cadiz, and of the person deputed for that purpose by your Highnesses, and his own property be given to each owner. — I beg your Highnesses to hold me in your protection; and I remain, praying our Lord God for your Highnesses' lives and the increase of much greater States,

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que ovieren cargado, para que se pueda ver é requerir sy los dichos navios traen cosa alguna encubierta é non manifestada al tiempo del cargar.

Yten, que en presençia de la justiciã de la dicha cibdad de Cadiz é de quien fuere para ello deputado por vuestras altezas, se aya de abrir el arca en que se traxere el dicho oro, y dar á cada uno lo suyo. — Vuestras alteças me ayan por encomendado, y quedo rogando á Nuestro Señor Dios por las vidas de vuestras altezas y acresçentamiento de muy mayores estados.

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A Letter of Christopher Columbus to their Catholic Majesties, laying before them certain observations on the art of navigation. From Granada, February 6, 1502.

MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY SOVEREIGNS AND LORDS,— I should wish to be the cause of pleasure and gratification to your Highnesses rather than of pain and displeasure ; and, knowing the attraction and charm that new and interesting things possess for you, I will write, in obedience to your commands, whatever occurs to my memory of such things ; and surely let them not be judged by my carelessness, but by my intention and good will, for in all things relating to the service of your Highnesses I have to learn of no man what I know how to do of my own self ; and though my strength were to fail, and my labors exhaust me, in my soul the will would never be wanting, for I am so deeply your debtor.

Navigators and other people who trade upon the sea have always a better knowledge of those particular parts of the world where they are accustomed to make their voyages with least interruption, and for this reason each one of them knows better what he sees every day than what he sees only from year to year ; and thus we receive with pleasure the accounts they themselves give us of what they have seen and collected, as certainly we derive greater knowledge from a thing which we learn by our own experience.

If we admit that the world is spherical according to the opinion of many writers who affirm this, or that science makes us lay down any other principle by its authority, it must not be understood that the

Carta de Cristóbal Colon á los Reyes Católicos, exponiendo algunas observaciones sobre el arte de navegar. Granada, 6 de febrero de 1502.

MUY ALTOS Y MUY PODEROSOS REYES Y SEÑORES,— Yo querria ser cabsa de plaszer y holgura á Vuestras Alteças, que no de pesadumbre y hastio ; mas como sé la afizion y deleyte que tienen á las cosas nuevas y dalgún ynterese, diré de unas y otras, compliendo con su mandamiento, aquello que agora me venga á la memoria ; y cierto non judguen dellas por el desaliño, mas por la intinzion y buen deseo, ya que en todo lo que fuere del servizio de Vuestras Alteças, non he de deprender de ningun otro lo que yo sé fazer por my mesmo ; que sy me faltaren las fuerzas y las fatigas me ryndieren, non desfallezerá en my ányma la voluntad como el más obligado y debdor que soy.

Los navigantes y otras gentes que tractan por la mar, tienen syempre mayor conoszimiento de las partidas particulares del mundo donde vsan y fazen sus contractaciones más continuo, y por esto cada vno destos sabe mejor de lo que vee cada día, que no lo otro que viene de años há años ; y asy reszebimos con delectazion la relazion quellos mesmos nos fazen de lo que vieron y collejieron, como cierto allegamos más grande enseñanza de aquello que deprendemos por nuestra propia espirenzia.

Si resconozemos el mundo ser espérico, segun el sentir de muchos escriptores que ansy lo afirman, o que la sciencia nos faga asentar otra cosa con

temperature of a zone is always even, for the diversity is great both at sea and on land.

The sun spreads its influence and the earth receives it in conformity with the formation of its valleys and mountains; and although the ancients have written enough concerning this, as Pliny, for instance, who says that under the north pole the climate is so mild that the people who live there never die except through vexation and disgust with life, when they hurl themselves from precipices and voluntarily kill themselves. *

We see here in Spain such diversity of temperature, that there is no need of testimony upon this point from any antiquity whatsoever. We see here in Granada the sierra covered with snow all through the year, which is a sign of great cold, and at the foot of this sierra are the Alpujarras, where the temperature is always very pleasant, without excessive cold or heat; and as it is in this province, so is it in enough others in Spain, which I refrain from mentioning by reason of their great number. I say that the same thing happens at sea, and particularly in those parts of the sea bordering on the land; and those who continually traffic there have better knowledge of this than those who trade in other parts.

In Andalusia in summer, after the sun has attained some height, the virazon, which is a wind that rises from the west, is regarded as certain for every day. This wind is very gentle, and lasts until evening. And as this virazon continues in that season in that region, so there are other winds in other parts and in other regions different in summer and in winter. Those who make a practice of sailing from Cadiz to Naples

su auctoridad, no se deve entender que la tenplanza sea yqual en un clyma, porque la diversidad es grande asy en la mar como en la tierra.

El sol syembra su ynfluencia y la tierra la reszibe segun las concavidades o montañas que son formadas en ella, y bien que harto hayan scripto los antiguos sobra esto, asy como Plinio, que dize que debaxo del norte ay tan suave tenplanza, que la gente que ally está jamas se muere, salvo por enfadamiento o aborrimiento de vida, que se despeñan y voluntariamente se matan.

Nos vemos aquy en España tanta diversydad de tenplanza, que non es menester el testimonio sobre esto de ninguna antigüedad del mundo: vemos aquy en Granada la syerra cubierta de nyeve todo el año, ques señal de gran frio, y al pie desta syerra son las Alpujarras donde es siempre suavissima tenplanza syn demasiado calor ny frio, y asy como es en esta provinzia, es en otras hartas en España, que se deja de dezir por la prolixidad dellas. Digo que en la mar acaesze otro tanto y en espezial en las comarcas de las tierras, y desto es en mayor conoszimiento los que continuo ally tractar, que no los otros que tractan en otras partes.

En el verano, en l'Andaluzia por muy cierto se tiene cada dia, despues de ser el sol altillo, la virazon, ques viento que sale del poniente, esta vien muy suave y dura hasta la tarde; asy como esta virazon continúa en aquel tiempo en esta region, ansy continúa otros vientos en otras partes y en ostra regiones diferentes el verano y el ynvierño. Los que andan con-

* Pliny, Hist. Nat., lib. iv. c. xxvi.

know when they pass the coast of Catalonia, according to the season what wind to expect there; and the same when they pass through the Gulf of Narbonne. Those who go from Cadiz to Naples, if it is winter time, pass within sight of Cape Creo in Catalonia, through the Gulf of Narbonne: there the wind is very strong, and sometimes the ships are compelled to yield to it, and through its force are blown away to Barbary, and on this account they hug Cape Creo in order to keep further on the tack, and to reach the Pomegas of Marseilles or the Islands of Hyères, and after that they never leave the coast until they reach their destination. If they are going from Cadiz to Naples in summer time, they sail along the coast of Barbary as far as Sardinia, in the same manner as has been said of the northern coast.* For these voyages, there are marked men who have made the passage so often, that they know all the ways and what weather to expect according to the season of the year. We commonly call such men pilots, which name is equivalent to guide on land; for, although one may know the road from here to Fuentarabia well enough to lead an army over it, he may not know that from here to Lisbon. It is the same at sea: some are pilots for Flanders, others for the Levant, every man for the country to which he is most accustomed.

The voyage and passage from Spain to Flanders is much frequented: there are great sailors who go on this service. In Flanders, in the month of January all the ships are ready to return home, and in this month it rarely happens that there are not some gusts of brysa, which is an east-north-east and north-north-east wind. These winds at this sea-

tinuo de Cadiz á Napoles, ya saben cuando pasan por la costa de Catalunia, segund la sazón, el viento que han de hallar en ella, y asimismo cuando pasan por el golfo de Narbona. Estos que han de yr de Cadiz á Napoles, si es tiempo de ynierno, van á vista de cabo de Creo en Catalunia, por el golfo de Narbona: entonzes viento muy rezo, y las vezes las naos conviene le obedezcan y corran por fuerza hasta Berueria, y por esto van más al cabo Creo, por sostener más la bolina y cobrar las Pomegas de Marsella o las yslas de Eres, y despues jamas se desabarean de la costa hasta llegar donde quier. Si de Cadiz ovieren de yr á Napoles en tiempo de verano, navegan por la costa de Berueria hasta Cerdena, ansy como está dicho de la otra costa de la tramotana. Para estas navegaciones ay hombres señalados, que sean dado tanto á ello, que conoszen todos estos caminos y qué temporales pueden esperar, segund la sazón del año en que fueren. Vulgarmente, á estos tales llamamos pylotos, que es tanto como en la tierra adalid; que bien que uno sepa muy bien el camino daqui á Fuentrabria para llevar una hueste, ni lo sabe daqui á Lisboa. Esto mismo acaesze en la mar, que unos son pylotos de Flandes y otros de Levante, cada uno de la tierra donde más usa.

El tracto y tránsito d'España á Flandes mucho se continúa; grandes marineros ay que andan á este vso. En Flandes, en el mes de enero, están todas las naos despachadas para volver á sus tierras, y en este mes, de raro sale que no haya algunos estirones de brysa, ques lesnordeste y nornordeste. Estos vientos, á este tiempo, no vienen amorosos, salvo salvajes y

* He means that the coast is hugged, as in the winter voyage.

son are not gentle, but fierce and cold, and almost dangerous: the distance of the sun and the condition of the earth are the causes that produce this. These brysas are not steady, although they do not fail to occur at the right season: those who sail with them are persons who are willing to run a risk, and they almost always get home with their hands in their hair. These persons, if the brysa fails them and some other wind blows against them, take refuge in the ports of France or England until another tide comes, and they can leave these harbors.

Sailors are greedy for money and eager to get home, and will risk every thing without waiting to see that the weather is settled. On another such occasion as this, when I was confined to my bed, I told your Highnesses what I could of the time of greatest safety for this voyage, which is after the sun has entered Taurus, and that the starting in the height and most dangerous time of winter should be abandoned. If the winds are favorable, the voyage is very short, and one ought not to start without some good certainty of the passage; and an opinion about that can be made here when the sky is seen to be very clear, and the wind rising from the north star and lasting several days, always with the same pleasant weather. Your Highnesses know well what occurred in the year ninety-seven, when you were at Burgos, in such anxiety because the weather continued bad and one storm followed another that you were going in disgust to Soria; and after the whole court had gone one Saturday, your Highnesses remained to start on Monday morning; and for a certain purpose on that night I said in a letter that I sent to your Highnesses; on such a day the wind began to blow, on the next day the fleet will not sail, waiting to see if the wind is steady; it will sail on Wednesday, and on Thursday or Friday it

frios y fasta peligrosos: la distancia del sol y la calidad de la tierra son cabsa que se enjendre esto. Estas brysas no son estables, bien que asy no yerren el tiempo; los que navegan con ellas son presonas que se ponen á ventura y lo más de las veces llegan con la mano en los cabellos. A estos, sy la brisa les falta y les haze fuerza otro viento, ponense en los puertos de Franzia o Ynglaterra, hasta que venga otra marea que puedan salyr de los puertos.

La gente de la mar es cobdiziosa de dyneros y de volver á su casa, y todo lo aventuran syn esperar á ver quel tiempo sea firme. Cativo como estaba en cama, en otra tal ocasion dixé á Vuestras Alteças lo que pude de mayor seguridad desta navegacion, que era despues de ser el sol en Tauru, y renegar de fazer esta partida en la fuerza y más peligroso de ynvierno. Sy los vientos ayudan, muy corto es el tránsito, y non se debe de partir hasta tener buena certeza del viaje; y de acá se puede judgar dello, ques quando se viere estar el cielo muy claro y salir el viento de la estrella de la tramotana y durar algunos dias, syempre en aquella alegria. Saben bien Vuestras Alteças lo que acontezió el año de nouenta y syete, quando estaban en Burgos en tal congoxa por quel tiempo perseveraba crudo y se suçedian los estirones, que de enfadados se yban á Soria; y partida toda la corte un sabado, quedaron Vuestras Alteças para partir lunes de mañana; y á un cierto proposito, en aquella noche, en un escripto mio que envié á Vuestras Alteças, dezia: tal dia comenzó á ventar el viento: el otro dia no partirá la flota, aguardando sy el viento se afirma; partirá

will be abreast the Island of Huict,* and if it does not put in will reach Laredo next Monday, or the science of seamanship is entirely lost. This writing of mine, and your desire for the coming of the Princess, moved your Highnesses to change your minds and not go to Soria, but to try the opinion of the sailor; and on Monday a ship appeared off Laredo, which had refused to enter Huit, because it had few provisions.

The opinions in similar cases, both on sea and on land, are and have always been various, and now there will be many who will desire to sail to the discovered islands; and, if the road is known, those who have to trade and traffic, by the perfection of instruments, and the improved rigging of ships, will have greater knowledge of things and countries, winds, and seasons most convenient for their services, and more experience for the security of their persons.

May the Holy Trinity guard your Highnesses, as I pray and we have need, with all your great estates and lordships. From Granada, the 6th of February, 1502.

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el miercoles, y el jueves o viernes será tant avant como la isla de Huict, y seno se meten en ella, serán en Laredo el lunes que viene, o la razon de la marineria es toda perdida. Este escripto mio, con el deseo de la venida de la Prinzeza, movió á Vuestras Alteças á mudar de proposito de no yr á Soria y espirmentar la opinion del marinero; y el lunes remaneszió sobre Laredo una nao que refusó de entrar en Huit, porque tenia pocos bastimentos.

Muchos son los juizios y fueron syempre en la mar y en la tierra en semejantes casos, y agora han de ser muchos los que hayan de navegar á las yslas descubiertas; y sy el camino es ya conoszido, los que hayan de tractar y contractar, con la perfizion de los ystrumentos y el aparejar de las naos, habrán mayor conoszimiento de las cosas y de las tierras y de los vientos y de las epocas más convenybles para sus usos, y más espirenzia para la seguridad de sus presonas.

La Sancta Treyndad guarde á Vuestras Alteças como deseo y menester habemos, con todos sus grandes estados y señorios. De Granada, á seys de hebrero de mill y quinientos y dos años.

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* The Isle of Wight is the only island that answers the requirements of the text. The Spanish language has no W, and perhaps Huict or Huit represents Wight in phonetic spelling. I hazard this conjecture with some diffidence.

A Letter of Amerigo Vespucci to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo (Ximénes de Cisneros), giving his opinion about the goods that ought to be carried to the Antilles. From Seville, December 9, 1508.

VERY REVEREND AND MAGNIFICENT SIR, — I feel obliged to show my gratitude for the confidence which your most reverend lordship has shown me, and I will not fail to declare my opinion, without allowing any interest to influence me, although I could have no desire to speak of that; and now I am to answer in regard to what is to be carried to the islands, whether it is better that it should pass through one person's hands, and that your Highness should derive a profit, as the King of Portugal does from the trade with the Mina del Oro, or, as I think I have heard is your Highness's opinion, whether every one should have liberty to go and carry what he wishes.

I find a great difference between the traffic of the King of Portugal and that which we are considering; inasmuch as the first consists of sending to the country of the Moors, and to one single place, a few kinds of goods appraised at a fixed price; and for these the factors whom he has there are responsible for the amount of the valuation, or for the goods themselves. The exact contrary is our case, as what has to be taken out to the islands consists of a diversity of all sorts of things that persons there may be in need of, as, for instance, clothes to clothe themselves with, and many things necessary for their buildings and farms, of which no account can be kept. So that I should think it very difficult and almost impossible for your Highness to order the business to be done in that manner, especially as many things that are needed in the islands can be procured more conveniently from other

Carta de Amerigo Vespucci al Cardenal Arzobispo de Toledo (Jiménes de Cisneros), dándole su parecer sobre las mercancías que hubieran de llevarse á las islas Antillas. — Sevilla, 9 de diciembre de 1508.

MUY REVERENDO É MAGNIFICO SEÑOR, — Tengo pues de agradecer la confianza que debo á vuestra reverendísima señoría, que non dexaré de dezirle my pareszer, syn que me mueva ynteres alguno, avnque non oviera gana de hablar dello; ya que agora he de responder sobre lo que háse de llevar á las yslas, sy es bien que vaya por vna mano y que Su Alteza lleve el provecho, segun que lo haze el rey de Portugal en lo de la Mina del Oro, o sea, como creo aver entendido ser la manera de pensar de Su Alteza, que cada vno tenga lybertad de yr i llevar lo que quisiere.

Yo hallo grande diferenzia del tracto del rey de Portugal á este acá, por quel vno es enviar á tierra de moros i á vn solo lugar vna o dos mercaderías apreziadas á zierto prezio, y de aquellas le responde los fadores que allá tiene, con el valor del mismo prezio o con la ropa; y acá es al contrario, porque lo que se ha de llevar á las yslas es diversidad de todas cosas que las presonas puedan aver menester, asy de vestyr como vestidos i muchas cosas nezesarias para edifyzios i graugerías, que no tienen quenta ny razon: de manera, que yo averia por muy dificoitoso i easy imposyble que Su Alteza lo pueda mandar hazer desta manera, en espezial que muchas de las cosas que son menester para las yslas, cumple más llevarlas

countries than this. For instance, from the Canaries and the Portuguese Islands, from which they get live stock and provisions, and other necessary articles. And there would have to be an agent for each thing, and of many things no account could be given, for some are consumed, others damaged, and still others spoiled. For this reason, in my opinion, the business cannot be transacted in that way; and, if the attempt shall be made, I think time will show that I am right.

By either of two ways it seems to me possible that your Highness may always derive a profit from the importation of goods that are carried to the islands, without trouble or expense on your part. The first is to lay a fixed tax on all that is taken to the islands, as it may seem right to your Highness, and to allow everybody to go freely and carry whatever he chooses: the other is to commit the traffic to merchants who shall share the profit with your Highness, they furnishing all that is needed without your Highness giving any care to the matter. In such a partnership, this arrangement would have to be made: that in the said islands the treasurer of your Highness and the agent of the merchants should be charged jointly with the business of receiving and selling all goods sent thither, each of them keeping his book in which, by the hands of two persons, every thing that was sold would be set down.

And there should be a statement of the cost of all the goods that are sent in each ship, signed by the merchant and the treasurer, or some other agent for your Highness appointed to be in Seville or Cadiz, in order that, by means of this account, those in the islands can correct their accounts of all that each ship brings, and that each person may take his share of the profit, the merchant receiving back the cost of the

de otras partes que destas, asy como de las yslas de Canaria y las de Portugal, de las quales sacan ganados y vituallas y otras cosas nezesarias; i para cada cosa seria menester vn fator, i ay muchas dellas de que non se podria dar quenta, porque dellas se comen, dellas se dañan y otras se pierden; y desta causa, á my ver, non se podria llevar este negocio por la dicha manera, i sy en espiriennzia lo pusyere, el tiempo doy por testygo.

Syempre que Su Alteza tenga algun provecho en la entrada de las ropas que á las yslas se llevaren syn cuidado ny costa, ocurreme vno de dos camynos: el uno, poner vn zierto derecho en todo lo que á las yslas se llevase, qual á Su Alteza paresziere, i que cada vno pudiese libremente yr i llevar lo que quisyere; el otro, es encargar esta negociacion á mercaderes que repartiesen el provecho con Su Alteza i forneziesen todo lo que fuese menester, sin que Su Alteza toviere dello cuidado. I en esta tal compañía seria de tener esta orden: que toviere en las dichas yslas cargo de entender en el reszibir i vender de las ropas que allá se enviaren el thesorero de Su Alteza, en compañía del fator de los mercaderes, tenyendo cada vno dellos su libro en que, por dos manos, se asentase todo lo que se vendiese.

Y de todas las ropas que se enviasen en cada navio, fuese la quenta de lo oviesen costado, firmada del mercader y del thesorero, o bien de otro fator por Su Alteza deputado á estar en Sevilla o en Cadiz, para que, segun aquella, pudiesen en las yslas soldar quenta de todo lo que llevare cada navio sobre sy, i tomar cada vna su parte de la gananzia, entregandose el mercader del costo de la ropa con costa y fletes, porque desta manera

goods with the charges and freight. And in this way there would be order and agreement, and no opportunity for fraud or deceit. In reference to the things that would be carried from other countries than our own, or from the islands above mentioned, and to their cost, the merchant and the agent of your Highness, who resided in Seville or Cadiz, could intrust this to some person who seemed to them suitable.

This is my opinion with due submission to those who know more. From Seville, the 9th day of the month of December, 1508.

I humbly kiss the hands of your most reverend lordship.

AMERRIGO VESPUCCI,
Chief Pilot.

[Addressed] To the most reverend and magnificent Lord, Cardinal of Spain Archbishop of Toledo.

[Indorsed on the back] From Amerrigo Vespucci, about carrying goods to the islands.

Replies with his opinion, December 9th, that my lord the Cardinal may see it. (Rubric.)

avería orden y conzierto, ny podria aver fraude ny engaño alguno; i para las cosas que se oviesen de llevar de fuera dacá y de las yslas de suso nombradas y saber el costo dellas, el mercader y fator de Su Alteza que estoviese en Sevilla o Cadiz, podria dar el cargo á alguna presona que á ellos paresziere.

Este es my pareszer, remityendome á los que más saben.

De Sevilla, á ix dias del mes de diziembre de mill é quinientos é ocho años.

De vuestra reverendisima señoria humylmente beso las manos.

AMERRIGO VESPUCCI,
Piloto Mayor.

[Sobre] Reverendisymo é magnifyco Señor [el Señor] Cardenal d' España, Arzobispo de Toledo.

[Anotacion al dorso] De Amerrigo Vespucci, sobre llevar cosas á las islas. Responde con su parescer de ix diziembre, para que lo vea m señor el señor Cardenal. (Rúbrica.)

Public Library, Boston
from the author

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Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

THE
FIRST VOYAGE

UNDER

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S PATENT
OF 1578.

BY

GEORGE DEXTER.

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THE FIRST VOYAGE

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SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S PATENT OF 1578.

THE following remarks were communicated to the stated meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held in Boston, Oct. 13, 1881 :—

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's interest in maritime discoveries and in the settlement of colonies in the new-found countries is well known. He will always be ranked, with Raleigh, as the great promoter of American colonization. Thirteen years older than his half-brother, he may perhaps be said to have laid the plans which Raleigh afterward improved and came very near carrying to a successful issue.

Among the documents in the English State Paper Office is a letter or petition from Gilbert to the Queen, with proposals for undertaking the discovery of a passage to Cataia, dated as early as 1567.* And again, in 1574, having passed most of the intervening years in military service (in Ireland, where his bravery was rewarded by the honor of knighthood, Jan. 1, 1570, and in the Netherlands), he, with Sir

* There is really no date to this paper, but the editor of the Calendar, Mr. Robert Lemon, assigns it to February, 1567. The discovery was to be performed in four voyages under certain privileges to endure for ten years, commencing "March come twelvemonth, 1568." See Calendar State Papers, Domestic, 1547-80, p. 288; and *Addenda* to Domestic Series, 1566-79, pp. 27, 28.

George Peckham, Christopher Carlile, Sir Richard Grenville, and others, petitions the Queen to allow an enterprise for the discovery of "sundry ritche and unknowen landes." * There is preserved, also, among the State Papers, a curious discourse, dated Nov. 6, 1577, "how Hir Majestie may annoy the King of Spayne," the signature to which, obliterated with a pen, has been supposed to be Gilbert's. The author proposes to fit out a fleet, under pretence of a voyage of discovery, and to destroy the Spanish trade in Newfoundland and the West Indies. †

More than a year before the date of this "Discourse," however, another, of which Gilbert was the undisputed author, was published. It is entitled "A Discovrse of a Discouerie for a new Passage to Cataia," and was published, as the titlepage shows, April 12, 1576. This is the well-known discourse reproduced by Hakluyt in 1589. ‡

* Cal. St. Papers, Dom. 1547-80, p. 475. This petition is dated March 22, 1574, and, under the same date, a letter was sent by these same gentlemen to the Earl of Lincoln, Lord High Admiral, with detailed specifications of the advantages to be gained by their proposed voyage, whose aim was to be south of the equinoctial line. At page 520 of this volume of the Calendar is a writ from the Admiralty Court, dated March 23, 1576, for the recovery of goods taken from five British ships wrecked on the Sussex coast, "richlye laden with merchandizes from the Southe partes." Mr. Lemon conjectures that this may refer to the return of the expedition. But I can find no supporting evidence.

† Cal. St. Papers, *ibid.* p. 565. Mr. J. A. St. John gives in his "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh" (2d. ed. pp. 14-18), some account of this document. He appears to have examined it carefully. He says that the obliterated signature is Gilbert's, but he is himself of opinion that Raleigh was the author.

‡ A copy of this rare book of Sir Humphrey Gilbert is in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence. It is carefully described by Mr. Bartlett, in his catalogue, vol. i. pp. 258, 259, with a *fac-simile*, slightly reduced, of the still rarer map. The book was given to the press by George Gascoigne, the poet, who prefixes an epistle to the reader, and a sonnet. It was published without Gilbert's knowledge or consent. The discourse is found in Hakluyt, ed. 1589, pp. 597-610; ed. 1600, vol. iii. pp. 11-24.

Watt, in his "Bibliotheca Britannica," gives, under Gilbert, the title of another book, "A true report of the late Discoveries and possession taken in the right of the Crown of England to the new found Lands. London, 1583, 4to." This is, of course, a mistake, as Gilbert sailed on his fatal voyage, June 11, and was lost September 9 of that year. The book which Watt cites is doubtless Sir George Peckham's tract, published in that year. The titles agree very nearly, and Peckham's book has Gilbert's name on the titlepage, while the author's appears only in the signature of his initials to the dedication.

Gilbert obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent, dated June 11, 1578, by which he was granted the right to discover and colonize any new lands not actually in the possession of a Christian prince or people, and was given all the usual rights and privileges of lord of the soil, a royalty of the fifth part of the precious metals found being reserved to the Crown.

The accounts of the first voyage undertaken under this patent in the modern biographies of Gilbert and of Raleigh are quite confused, and contradictory. There is no unanimity of statement of even so important a fact as the date of the expedition, some placing it in 1578, others a year later. It would appear that either no one of these writers has been in possession of all the authorities for the voyage, or that none of them has collated these authorities with sufficient care to bring out a clear account of it. It is my purpose to reproduce here all these authorities and references, arranging them in order, with the hope that their study may afford a more detailed story than can be found elsewhere.

The patent was dated June 11, 1578, and naturally preparations were at once made for a voyage.* The first word we get of the fleet is the notice of its intended departure. Sir Humphrey writes from Greenway, his home, "a little mile above the town of Dartmouth," † Sept. 23, 1578, to Secretary Walsingham, "has sailed from Dartmouth on the 23d, with a fleet of eleven ships and five hundred able men for his intended voyage. Desires Walsingham to keep him in her Majesty's good favor and credit." ‡ The start, if

* Gilbert's patent is given at length by Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 135-137; and by Hazard, vol. i. pp. 24-28.

† Prince, "Worthies of Devon," p. 416.

‡ Cal. St. Pap. Dom. 1547-80, p. 600. The identity of the dates of the letter and the day of departure may be a little perplexing. St. John, who examined the documents in the State Paper Office relating to this voyage, says that the fleet, "though ready for sea as early as the end of September" (Life of Raleigh, p. 20), did not start until two months later. Perhaps the *has sailed*, the words not of Gilbert but of the person who epitomized the letter for the Calendar, may be a mistake, and the letter may mean only that every thing was ready for the sailing. In the Calendar of Domestic Papers, *Addenda*, 1566-79,

made at this time, was a false one. There were soon disputes and disagreements among the captains, and the ships did not really get away on their voyage. Gilbert writes again to Walsingham from Plymouth, November 12, "complains of Mr. Knollys's unkind and ill dealing towards him and other gentlemen in Devonshire, and of his separating company on the voyage. His fleet, however, of seven sail is sufficiently large to accomplish his business." * Six days afterward, on the 18th, he writes, still from Plymouth, "sends a certificate of the causes of Mr. Knollys's departure from him to be shown to the Queen and the Council. His cousin Denny accompanies Knollys in this breach." With this letter was enclosed "the certificate of the causes why Mr. Henry Knollys quitted the company of Sir H. Gylberte as alleged before the Mayor of Plymouth and other gentlemen." † Some of the particulars of Knollys's conduct are stated by Mr. St. John. He says that the whole town of Plymouth was filled with brawl and riot; that Knollys was insolent to Gilbert and insubordinate.‡ Knollys sailed, November 18, with his ships and followers, on an independent expedition of adventure or piracy. Gilbert is said to have sailed the next day. He, with Raleigh and the rest, did certainly start about this time.§ Sir John Gilbert, the

pp. 548, 549, there is a letter from Henry Killigrew to William Davison, from Hendon, Oct. 10, 1578. Mr. Killigrew had just returned from a visit to Cornwall and Devonshire, and as part of the little news from the West writes, "Sir Humphrey Gilbert with his ten ships set forward on 25th September, but I know not whither."

* Cal. St. Papers, *ib.* p. 605.

† *Ibid.* The certificate is signed by William Hawkyns, Walter Rauley, and others.

‡ St. John's Raleigh, pp. 20, 21.

§ St. John says, p. 22, that "On the 19th of November Gilbert, with seven ships and three hundred and fifty men, set sail from Plymouth." He cites as his authority, "Gilbert to Walsingham, Nov. 12, 1578, State Paper Office." Of course Gilbert cannot have written that he sailed on the 19th seven days before that date. The calendar, however, p. 605, names, under dates November 18 and 19, what I suppose are two separate papers: "The names of all the ships, officers, and gentlemen, with the pieces of ordnance, &c., gone in the voyage with Sir Humfrey Gylberte, Captain Walter Rauley commanding the Falcon: also the names of the ships, officers, and gentlemen who went with Mr. Henry Knollys on the 18th November."

elder brother of Sir Humphrey, writes to Walsingham from Exeter, December 20, "The fleet under the command of Sir H. Gylberte was well provisioned and victualled for a voyage of one year. One ship left behind because it leaked." *

It is impossible to give much account of the voyage itself. There exists no printed narrative by any of the sharers in its dangers and reverses. From the authorities that we have it is to be supposed that Gilbert and Raleigh parted company, that each had a fight with the Spaniard in which neither was very successful, and that they returned to England at different times.

Captain Edward Haies, who wrote an account of Gilbert's voyage of 1583, speaks thus of this earlier attempt:—

"When first Sir Humfrey Gilbert undertooke the Western discovery of America, and had procured from her majesty a very large commission to inhabit and possesse at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many priuileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew vnto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow vnto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a king's power by sea: neuertheless amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were diuers, which bred a jarre, and made a diuision in the end, to the confusion of that attempt euen before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a maner prepared, and men ready upon the coast to go aboard; at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended; others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he aduentured to sea; where hauing tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driuen to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his grieve) of a valiant gentleman, Miles Morgan." †

Of Sir Walter Raleigh's adventures in this voyage we have more particulars. John Hooker, who edited the second edition

* Cal. St. Papers, *ib.* p. 609.

† Haies in Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 145, 146.

of that portion of Holinshed's *Chronicles* which relates to Ireland, with a continuation, was a relation of Raleigh and dedicated his work to him. In his "Epistle Dedicatorie" he writes: —

"For after that you had seasoned your primer yeares at Oxford in knowledge and learning, a good ground and a sure foundation to build therevpon all your good actions, you trauelled into France, and spent there a good part of your youth in the warres and martiall seruices. And hauing some sufficient knowledge and experience therein, then after your returne from thense, to the end you might euerie waie be able to serue your prince and commonweale you were desirous to be acquainted in maritimall affaires. Then you, together with your brother Sir Humfreie Gilbert, trauelled the seas, for the search of such countries, as which if they had beene then discouered, infinit commodities in sundrie respects would have insued, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanieng you, had according to appointment followed you, or your selfe had escaped the dangerous sea fight, when manie of your companie were slaine, and your ships therewith also sore battered and disabled."*

A still fuller account is given by the editors of Holinshed's second edition, when they come to mention the expedition sent out by Raleigh under the command of Captains Amadas and Barlow, in 1584. After relating briefly that voyage "with direction to discouer that land which lieth betwéene Norembega and Florida in the west Indies," the *Chronicle* continues: —

"This countrie of Norembega aforesaid (and the land on this side of it) Sir Humfrie Gilbert, brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, a man both valiant and well experienced in martiall affaires, did attempt to discouer, with intention to settle an English colonie there in the yeare 1578: hauing in his companie his two brethren Walter and Carew Raleighs, Henrie Knolles, George Carew, William Careie, Edward Dennie, Henrie Nowell, Miles Morgan, Francis Knolles, Henrie North, and diuerse other gentlemen of good calling, and ten sailes of all sorts of shipping, well and sufficientlie furnished for such an enterprise, weighed anchor in the west countrie, and set to the sea. But God

* Holinshed's *Chronicles*, ed. 1807-8, vol. vi. pp. 106, 107.

not favoring his attempt, the journeie tooke no good successe; for all his ships inforced by some occasion or mischance, made their present returne againe: that onelie excepted wherein his brother Walter Raleigh was capteine, who being desirous to doo somewhat worthie honor, tooke his course for the West Indies, but for want of vittels and other necessaries (needful in so long a viage) when he had sailed as far as the Ilands of Cape de Verde upon the coast of Affrica, was inforced to set saile and returne for England. In this his viage he passed manie dangerous aduentures, as well by tempests as fights on the sea; but lastlie he arriued safelie at Plymouth in the west countrie in Maie next following.”*

From this it appears that Raleigh returned to Plymouth in May, 1579. There is evidence that Gilbert had returned earlier, how much earlier it is not possible to say precisely. Preparations were making for a renewal of the voyage before Raleigh's return. Mr. Edwards states that the Lords of the Council wrote to Gilbert, April 26, “to revoke him from his intended journey at the seas, for seeking of foreign countries; or if he shall proceed in it, [then to direct] that he put in sureties for his good behaviour.” Gilbert, he says, was just putting out to sea, and answered through his brother, Sir John, that he “could not, without great loss, stay.” But he was detained by contrary winds, and while still in port was again enjoined from his enterprise. The Privy Council order Sir John Gilbert to return a Spanish bark taken by some of

* “This extract from Holinshed has not, I think, been cited before. I take it from the edition of 1807-8, vol. iv. p. 534, but have compared it with the earlier edition. Holinshed's Chronicle was first published in 1577, a year before this expedition was undertaken. A second edition, in three volumes, folio, was published in 1586-87, after the death of Holinshed. This was prepared, and the Chronicle continued to its date by Abraham Fleming, John Stow, and others. Into this second edition new matter was interpolated freely. The insertions are all, however, properly marked at beginning and end, and their sources indicated in the margin. The source from which this account of Raleigh's voyages was obtained is designated *A. F. ex add. G. C.* A. F. is of course Fleming, who furnished much material to the new edition, wrote the preface to the historical part of the Chronicle, and prepared the indexes. I cannot identify G. C. If these are the initials of any of the persons named in the account of the earlier voyage the choice rests between George Carew and William Carey, according as we read in English or Latin. The edition of 1807-8 is an exact reprint in six handsome quarto volumes of the second edition.

Sir Humphrey's men, and add: "for that their Lordships are advised your brother Sir Humphrey is not yet departed; and that your brother Walter Rawley is returned to Dartmouth; like as their Lordships have written to the Sheriffs, Vice-Admiral, and Justices of that county to command them both to stay; so you are required friendly to advise them to surcease from proceeding any further, and to remain at home to answer such as have been, by their company, damaged." *

These orders from the Council appear to have been effective enough to break up the proposed renewal of the voyage. I get no trace of the sailing of either Gilbert or Raleigh in the year 1579, and there can be little doubt that the expedition was abandoned so far as America was concerned. Raleigh soon took military service in Ireland under the Lord Justice, Sir William Pelham, who was succeeded in the command by Lord Grey of Wilton, as Lord Deputy. Returning from this service about the close of the year 1581, he repaired to Court and rose rapidly in favor.

Gilbert probably preceded Raleigh to Ireland, where he had done good service some years before. The Privy Council remonstrances may have been accompanied with, or speedily followed by, inducements to enter the service of the Crown against the Irish, who had again raised the standard of revolt under the leadership of James Fitzmaurice. Fitzmaurice landed at Smerwick in the beginning of July, bringing with him from Spain about fourscore Spaniards and a few Englishmen and Irishmen.† Gilbert had three ships employed in

* Edwards's "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," pp 78, 79. He cites from the Register Book of the Privy Council, Elizabeth, vol. iv. pp. 461, 492, 493, *et seq.* Curiously enough, Mr. Edwards makes these remonstrances apply to the beginning of the voyage, which he thinks took place in 1579, being apparently ignorant of the existence of the papers in the State Paper Office; while Mr. St. John, unaware of these Privy Council entries, makes the voyage last from November, 1578, to the end of the following spring or beginning of the summer. An entry on the Council book, cited by Edwards as the first mention of Raleigh's name there (p. 37), charging him and his brother "in her Majesty's name to remain on land and to surcease proceedings in their enterprize," bears date May 29, 1579. This date tallies with the statement in Holinshed that Raleigh returned in May.

† Holinshed's Chronicles, 1807-8, vol. vi. p. 406.

the Irish service as early as the 21st of July. Their names were the "Anne Auchier," the "Relief," and the "Squirrel," and these vessels may quite possibly have shared in the exploring voyage of the previous year.* A commission was issued to him by the Lord Justice, Sir William Drury, and the Council, at Dublin, July 24, with instructions, "to take up ships and prosecute James Fitzmaurice."† Other notices of Gilbert's service in Ireland are to be found in the Calendars of Irish State Papers. He seems to have had some difficulty and dispute with one Sir Owen O'Sullivan, whom he suspected of harboring some reinforcement to Fitzmaurice's train.‡ I do not know when Gilbert left Ireland. There is a letter from him to Secretary Walsingham, written from Minster in Sheppey, July 11, 1581, wherein he "desires payment of the little sum of money remaining due to him for service of his three ships in Ireland. Has been reduced to utter want by his losses there. It is a miserable thing that after seven-and-twenty years' service he should now be subject to daily arrests, executions, and outlawries, and to sell his wife's clothes from her back."§ Captain Edward Haies, in the earlier part of his narrative of the fatal expedition of 1583 says, after speaking of the voyage of 1578:—

"Hauing buried onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismaied, he continued his former designment and purpose to reuiue this enterprise good occasion seruing. Upon which determination standing long without meanes to satisfy his desire, at last he granted certaine assign-

* Cal. St. Papers, Irish, 1574-85, p. 192. The reckoning in the Auditor's book was for service from July 21 to Oct. 16, 1579. The "Anne Auchier" was named for Lady Gilbert, whose name was Anne Aucher, or, as it is sometimes spelled, Ager.

† *Ibid.* p. 175.

‡ See State Papers, Ireland, 1574-85, pp. 193, 202; and Carew, 1575-88, pp. 175, 176, 185.

§ Cal. St. Papers, Domestic, 1581-90, p. 22. He urges the same request from Westminster, October 25. See Cal. Ireland, 1574-85, p. 326. The manor of Minster in the Isle of Sheppey is spoken of in January, 1583, as Lady Gilbert's only stay left to live by during her husband's proposed absence. Cal. St. Papers, Domestic, 1581-90, p. 94.

ments out of his cōmission to sundry persons of meane ability desiring the priuilege of his grant, to plant and fortifie in the North parts of America about the riuer of Canada to whō if God gaue good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected), the same (he thought) would greatly aduance the hope of the South and be a furtherance vnto his determination that way . . . Time went away without any thing done by his assignes.” *

There is no need to linger upon the story of Gilbert's final and fatal expedition in 1583. This story is narrated at length by one of the party, Edward Haies, captain of the “Golden Hind,” the only one of the five vessels which returned to England. It is set forth in all our histories and school-books. Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed from Causand Bay, near Plymouth, June 11; took formal possession of the country (Newfoundland) August 5; and was lost in a storm on the return voyage, September 9. “We are as near to heaven by sea as by land.”

* Haies in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 146. The only assignment of Gilbert's patent I find mentioned is one to Sir Thomas Gerrard and Sir George Peckham. These gentlemen, certainly not “persons of meane ability,” ask Secretary Walsingham for permission for certain persons to quit England, stating that Sir Humphrey Gilbert has assigned to them his patent for the discovery and conquest of heathen lands. Cal. St. Pap. Domestic, 1547-80, p. 695. There is no date to the letter, but the editor refers it to 1580.

6

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE AND INDEX,

To be added to the First Edition of

“AN HISTORICAL RESEARCH

BY GEORGE LIVERMORE.”

*The following pages are to be placed at the end of
the copies of the First Edition.*

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

AFTER most of the copies of this first edition had been sent out, several alterations and additions were suggested to the author, some of which were adopted when the "Research" was afterwards reprinted in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society" for 1862-63, and also when later a third edition of it was issued by the New-England Loyal Publication Society. The modifications were as follows:—

1. The extract from the "Message" of Jefferson Davis was reprinted in those later editions from the "National Intelligencer" of 7 May, 1861, where it purports to be printed in an authentic form. In this first edition, the passage stands (page 4) as taken at second hand from the "New-Orleans Picayune" of an earlier date, and contains some verbal inaccuracies. Of these, however, only two affect the sense, viz. (line 6), "fifteen" for "thirteen," and (line 28) "who were not only in want," for "who were inhibited not only by want."

2. The first paragraph on Dr. Franklin's opinions (pp. 44, 45) was modified by the omission of the first sentence as containing a statement not quite correct. But it becomes perfectly correct, if for "never" is

substituted "almost never," or "scarcely ever," alluding to a very brief portion of his early life in Philadelphia.

3. In speaking of the practice of receiving free negroes as soldiers at the commencement of the Revolution (p. 124), it is not quite correct to state so broadly that they were "enrolled in the militia." The word "militia" was here inadvertently used as synonymous with "army." The language of the paragraph was therefore so altered as to read, "At the commencement of the war not only were free negroes received into the army, but, in many instances, slaves also stood in the ranks with freemen."

4. The sentence (p. 159) affirming the exemption, in 1656, of "Scotchmen," as well as "negroes," from training in Massachusetts, was omitted; and for the last five lines of the paragraph was substituted the following sentences: "In 1656, the law was so altered as to exempt 'negroes and Indians'; but again, in 1660, a new law required '*every person* above the age of sixteen years' to train, except certain classes of persons specified, and 'except one servant of every magistrate and teaching elder, and the sons and servants of the Major-General for the time being.' Those who are curious in tracing the early legislation on the subject will notice the continuance of this vacillation into the next century."

5. The extract from Mr. Sabine's "American Loyalists" (pp. 164-167) was reprinted from the author's copy, as corrected for a second edition of that work. The only important alteration in this extract is the substitution of "*other States*" for "*New England*" in the passage (p. 165) relating to the number of soldiers sent to the aid of South Carolina.

6. Only one important addition was made, being the following account of Mr. Jay's opinions on slavery, inserted after the extract from Mr. Jefferson's "Autobiography," (p. 60.)

"The opinions on slavery of that pure patriot and able statesman, John Jay, the first Chief-Justice of the United-States Supreme Court, appointed by Washington (who so highly appreciated his character and talents, that he tendered him a choice of the offices in his gift), are so well known, that it is not important to cite here any extended extracts from his writings on the subject. Two or three passages from his printed works and his manuscripts will be quite sufficient for my present purpose.

"In 1777, Mr. Jay strenuously urged the insertion of an article in the Constitution of the State of New York, adopted in that year, providing for the early abolition of slavery; 'so that, in future ages, every human being who breathes the air of this State shall enjoy the privileges of a freeman.'"—*Flanders' Lives and Times of the Chief Justices*, p. 216.

"In 1780, writing from Spain to Egbert Benson, the Attorney-general of New York, Mr. Jay said:—

"'An excellent law might be made out of the Pennsylvania one for the gradual abolition of slavery. Till America comes into this measure, her prayers to Heaven for liberty will be impious. This is a strong expression, but it is just. Were I in your Legislature, I would prepare a bill for the purpose with great care; and I would never cease moving it till it became a law, or I ceased to be a member. I believe God governs the world; and I believe it to be a maxim in his as in our court, that those who ask for equity ought to do it.'"—*Life and Writings of John Jay*, vol. i. 229, 230.

"In 1785, Mr. Jay wrote:—

"'It is much to be wished that slavery may be abolished. The honor of the States, as well as justice and humanity, in my opinion, loudly call upon them to emancipate these unhappy people. To con-

tend for our own liberty, and to deny that blessing to others, involves an inconsistency not to be excused.' — *Idem*, vol. i. p. 231.

"In 1786, Mr. Jay drafted a memorial to the Legislature of the State of New York, which commenced with the declaration:—

"'Your memorialists, being deeply affected by the situation of those who, although free by the laws of God, are held in slavery by the laws of this State, view with pain and regret the additional miseries which these unhappy people experience from the practice of exporting them, like cattle, to the West Indies and the Southern States.'

"This memorial was signed by John Jay; Alexander Hamilton; Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of the State; James Duane, Mayor of the City of New York; and one hundred and twenty-nine others, including many eminent civilians and clergymen. The Constitution of the Manumission Society, from which this memorial proceeded, declared it to be the duty of Christians to endeavor to enable the slaves 'to share equally with us in our civil and religious liberty, to which they are by nature as much entitled as ourselves.'

"As President of the New-York Manumission Society (an office held by Mr. Jay until his appointment as Chief-Justice, when he resigned it, and Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, was elected in his place), he drafted a public acknowledgment of an anonymous gift to the treasury of the Society, from which the following is an extract:—

"'What act of public or private justice and philanthropy can occasion more pleasing emotions in the breasts of Christians, or be more agreeable to HIM who shed his blood for the redemption of men, than such as tend to restore the oppressed to their natural rights, and to raise unfortunate members of the same great family with ourselves from the abject situation of beasts of burthen, bought and sold and worked for the benefit and at the pleasure of persons who were not created more free, more rational, more immortal, nor with more extensive rights and privileges, than they were?'" — *From the original MS. in the Jay Collection at Bedford, N.Y.*

“The candid reader cannot fail to contrast these sentiments of the first Chief-Justice with the assertion of his latest successor, Chief-Justice Taney, that, at the time the Constitution of the United States was formed, the opinion was ‘*fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race,*’ that the negro ‘*had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.*’”

Since this first edition was printed, my attention has been directed to numerous facts and documents illustrating the subject, which I have not used. Many of these ought to be published. It was at one time my purpose to incorporate them in the second edition; but I found that by so doing I should swell the “Research” considerably beyond the customary limits allotted by the Historical Society to papers published in their “Proceedings.” I have therefore reserved them for some possible future use. If the requisite leisure can be gained from pressing duties, perhaps these new materials may hereafter be combined with those presented already, in preparing a more elaborate and complete history of the subject.

The following brief mention, however, of some of the more important of these omitted documents, was added to the “Appendix,” as a new article (F), in the third edition of the “Research.”

“I. A despatch from Lord Dunmore to ‘Secretary the Earl of Hillsborough,’ dated at Williamsburg, May 1, 1772. The original is in the State-paper Office, London. A manuscript copy was obligingly furnished to me by Mr. Bancroft. It not only corroborates the testimony of the American patriots

respecting the anti-slavery sentiments which prevailed in Virginia prior to the Declaration of Independence, but shows the opinions at that time entertained respecting the relations of slaves to their masters in a time of war, as follows:—

“‘In case of a war the people with great reason tremble at the facility that an enemy would find in procuring such a body of men, attached by no tie to their masters or to the country: on the contrary it is natural to suppose their condition must inspire them with an aversion to both, and therefore are ready to join the first that would encourage them to revenge themselves; by which means a conquest of this country would inevitably be effected in a very short time.’

“II. An original letter of Patrick Henry to John Alsop, of Hudson, N.Y., dated at Hanover Court-House, 13 January, 1773, pronouncing slavery to be ‘as repugnant to humanity as it is inconsistent with the Bible and destructive to Liberty.’

“III. The laws of some of the Northern and Middle States, at the time of the extinction of slavery therein, making it a penal offence to sell slaves to be taken out of the State without their own consent; and thus proving the falseness of the charge made by Jefferson Davis and others against the North, of having ‘consulted their own interest by selling their slaves to the South when they prohibited slavery within their limits.’ My attention has been called to these laws by Professor Lieber.

“IV. An extract from a letter written to me, soon after the publication of the first edition, by Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, in which she shows how admirably successful Lafayette’s experiment of emancipation in Cayenne proved in practice. The account is too beautiful and touching to be abridged. I hope hereafter to print it entire.

“V. A full and accurate statement of the opinions of that high authority, John Quincy Adams, on the powers of the National Government respecting Slavery and Emancipation in a time of war.

“The opponents of Emancipation have recently cited certain Official Papers of his, written when, in the capacity of a diplomatist, he was acting under a slave-holding President and a pro-slavery Administration, and discharging the duties of his office as the Advocate of his government in a controversy between it and a foreign power. It would be wrong to assume that such official papers in every instance necessarily present the personal views of the writer. Indeed, we have on record the following express declaration of Mr. Adams as to one of his official acts: ‘It was utterly against my wishes; but I was obliged to submit, and prepare the requisite despatches.’ Such ministerial acts, contrary to his convictions, when he was called on to perform them, were done, to use his own words, in ‘the bitterness of his heart.’

“When afterwards acting on his own responsibility, in the House of Representatives, in 1836, he made this declaration:—

“‘From the instant that your slave-holding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the *war powers of Congress* extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power.’

“After years of further reflection, in 1842 he announced, in the following statement, what he considered as indisputable law:—

“‘*When your country is actually in war*, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and must carry it on according to the laws of war; and, by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and martial law takes the place of them.’

“And the settled opinion of this eminent statesman, in the fulness and maturity of his powers, solemnly reiterated in Congress, was, that, in time of war, ‘not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves.’”

With this "Supplementary Note" and the accompanying "Index," the copies of this first edition will be not less complete than those of the editions that have followed it.

G. L.

DANA HILL, CAMBRIDGE,
July, 1863.

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7

THE BUILDING AND THE FINANCES

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*Remarks of the President at the Monthly Meeting,
July 13, 1871.*

I AM anxious, gentlemen, that all our members should clearly understand the still pending question in regard to the Building we now occupy, in connection with the exact financial condition of the Society.

That condition has been greatly improved since I became actively associated with our affairs, sixteen or seventeen years ago. We then had no fund for the publication of our Collections. The Executors of the late Samuel Appleton gave us, from his residuary property, Ten Thousand Dollars for this purpose; which, by fortunate reinvestment, stands on our books at more than Twelve Thousand Dollars.

We then had no Dowse Library. The Executors of Mr. Dowse, in transferring to us this noble Library, gave us, also, from his residuary estate, Ten Thousand Dollars, as a fund for taking care of it.

We then had no fund for publishing our Proceedings and preserving our Historical Portraits. The late George Peabody gave us Twenty Thousand Dollars for these specific purposes.

We then owned but a third part of the Building we occupy, and were in danger of being obliged to abandon it, for want of the means of securing the remainder. By the subscriptions of some generous men,—members and others, most, if not all, of whom are now dead,—and by other arrangements which will presently be explained, we now own the whole Building, and its value has been largely increased since it became ours.

But while these great improvements in our condition are the fit subject of grateful acknowledgment to God and man, it cannot be denied that our financial condition is at this moment far from being what it ought to be, and far from what it is absolutely essential it should be, for the satisfactory performance of our work.

In the first place, the incidental expenses of our establishment (in which I include, as the chief item, the salaries of our Assistant Librarian and his Clerk) have been necessarily increased — doubled, perhaps trebled — during the period to which I refer, owing to the increase in the price of living and of labor of all sorts; and they are still considerably below the mark at which services of the highest character — such as we really need — can be commanded.

In the next place, the cost of publishing our volumes is now threefold what it was when the Appleton-Publication Fund was assigned us. At that time it was calculated that the interest of that Fund (about six or seven hundred dollars a year) would enable us to publish a volume every year. A volume now costs us about eighteen hundred dollars. Even the income of the Peabody Fund (twice that of the Appleton Fund) is not sufficient for an Annual Volume of Proceedings.

We are thus seriously crippled in our publishing work, which is the great work of our Society. At this very moment, owing to the simultaneous preparation of four volumes, — three of Collections and one of Proceedings, — we have been at our wits' ends for the means of paying the printers' bills; and we shall be compelled to postpone any further publication of our Collections, — certainly for several years to come, — unless some new resources should be forthcoming from some quarter or other. Such a postponement is to be seriously deplored, in view of the uncertainty of the health and life of some of our most willing and most valuable workers. Two of these last volumes of Collections, for example, were prepared by our venerable associate, Colonel Aspinwall, from papers which could no longer be retained in his possession, even if his own continuance in a condition to labor for us — much as we hope he may be spared in health and strength for many years to come — could have been reasonably relied on.

But I turn to the last and largest item of our property, from which we have derived so considerable a part of our income, — I mean the Building, a part of which we have so long occupied, and the whole of which we now own.

It would be interesting to recall the precise circumstances and dates connected with our original selection and occupation of this site. I have always understood that we fixed our head-quarters here in connection with the Boston Athenæum, before that Institution was removed to Pearl Street, at the earnest desire and through the pecuniary assistance of the late Lieutenant-Governor William Phillips, whose noble mansion, on the opposite side of the street, is still among the cherished memories of old Boston. And I remember well how kindly,

in consonance with this act of his father's, the late Hon. Jonathan Phillips gave us Two Thousand Dollars, on my own application, though he was not a member of the Society, towards enabling us to keep in our old lot. I have the best reason for thinking that there was a strong feeling among the former members of our Society, that we should not abandon this old historical locality, in the very heart of the city, bordering upon the old graveyard, where so many of our earliest Ministers and Magistrates lie buried, and which has so many advantages of light and air, of central position, and convenient access. I remember well serving on a Committee, with the late Mr. Nathan Appleton and the late Mr. David Sears and others, many years ago, when the question had arisen whether we should or could buy out the "Provident Institution for Savings," and remain here, or whether we should sell our part of the Building, and seek a habitation elsewhere. We then visited many localities, and considered many schemes; but these gentlemen at length decided that we ought not to abandon the old hive where so much precious honey had been made and stored, and where so many historical and personal associations were clustered; and they themselves contributed liberally to the means by which the whole Building was secured to us.

But I am sensible that the question is a practical one, not one of sentiment; and that we are bound to do what is wisest and best for a living Society, without too much regard to the dead. I desire, therefore, to look at this Building mainly as a piece of property, and as a place for our continued occupation.

For the first time since we owned it, we are now free to dispose of it. The lease of the lower story having expired, and the room having been vacated, the question necessarily arises, "What shall we do with it?"

Three or four courses are still open to us. First, We may remain just where we are, and just as we are,—leasing the lower room on a term of years for the best rent we can procure, which will undoubtedly be larger than we have received for the last fifteen years, and going along ourselves in the quiet occupation of our present apartments. Secondly, We may sell the whole Building to the highest bidder, and then look out for a place which we may occupy hereafter. Thirdly, We may lease the whole Building on a long term, for the purpose of improvement by others, reserving or not, as we please, the refusal of any apartments which may be arranged by the lessee to suit us. Fourthly, We may remodel the Building ourselves, arranging apartments to suit ourselves, and providing other apartments which may be the subject of advantageous lease.

This last is the mode of proceeding which has approved itself thus far to the large Committee, to which the subject has been committed, with full powers. They have accordingly had plans and specifications prepared by an architect, and they are still in negotiation with a Committee of the City Council, with a view to the occupation of the lower part of the Building for the enlargement of the accommodations of the Probate Office and Registry of Deeds. They believe that this would be a most advantageous and economical plan for the City as well as for ourselves, saving the city from the great expense of erecting a new Building, and securing to both of us convenient and fire-proof accommodations.

There has been no possibility of obtaining a formal meeting of our whole Committee since the last Monthly Meeting of the Society, so many of them are absent from the city for the summer. But I have had frequent consultations with individual members of the Committee, and with other members of the Society, and I have become more than ever convinced that, if an arrangement with the City can be effected on such terms as we shall be willing to accept, it will prove the safest and best which we can hope to make. No terms can, of course, be accepted by us, or will be entertained by the Committee, which will not secure us from any pecuniary hazard, and which will not supply us at once with ample apartments for ourselves, and with a rent sufficient to pay us a fair interest on the value of the part of the Building which the City may occupy, as well as upon the outlay involved by the improvements proposed.

As this arrangement is actually in progress at this moment, I forbear, for obvious reasons, to say more of its details. But as any negotiations with the City may fall through, and as, even should they succeed, some clear understanding as to other alternatives may be satisfactory to us all, I wish to call the attention of the Society briefly to one or two important considerations. I desire particularly to present a few of the reasons which, altogether apart from any associations with the spot, historical or otherwise, make me so reluctant to contemplate the sale and abandonment of this property.

It has been suggested that we may sell this estate, as it stands, for a hundred and twenty or thirty thousand dollars; and some persons have suggested a hundred and fifty, or even a larger sum. Now, I greatly fear, though I do not like to confess it, that all these estimates are extravagant, and that we could not get even a hundred thousand. But, supposing that even a hundred and twenty thousand could be realized, let us look and see precisely where we should be. Remember, first, that between twenty and thirty thousand dollars of

our Trust Funds are invested in the Building, in the nature of a mortgage upon it, upon which we are bound to secure an interest to carry out the purposes prescribed by the Donors of those funds. Remember, secondly, that a principal source of our means for paying the salaries and incidental expenses of our Society has been the rent of our lower story. In employing the purchase-money which we might have received for our estate,—be it more or less,—we should thus be compelled to do one of two things: either to set aside a sum sufficient to cover the interest on our Trust Funds, and to supply the amount hitherto received in rent, and to use only the remainder in securing a new habitation for ourselves; or else to buy or build with the whole sum an edifice in which we should only be joint tenants with others, and from a part of which we could obtain the necessary income.

Well, now, I confess to be one of those who do not believe that, even with the full sum of a hundred and twenty thousand dollars, if it were in hand to-day, we could either buy or build any thing which would answer these requisitions.

It must not be forgotten, that the first and most essential thing to be regarded in any new building is that it shall be *fire-proof*. We are by no means wholly fire-proof where we are. If we were, nobody, I think, would for a moment entertain the idea of changing our condition. But we here have many elements of security. We have the empty graveyard on one side, the street in front, and the Probate Building behind; and we have thus far had the safest of all occupants—a Savings' Bank—below us. If we have a doubtful neighbor in the Museum, I am assured by its proprietor that, owing to its character, it is the most carefully watched building in the city; and that its very dangers are thus, in some sort, securities; so that—"Out of this nettle, danger, we pluck the flower, safety." We have a thick wall, wholly independent of it, and we never have had even an alarm in more than thirty years. We may be pardoned, too, for remaining where we have been so long,—certainly until we can be supplied with the means of going safely elsewhere. "*Quieta non movere*" is at least an excusable policy. But I think we could not be pardoned for removing our archives and treasures and these precious books to any new place which should not be absolutely fire-proof. If we should be tempted, in the hope of making a good speculation, to quit this old locality, and to buy a cheap site, exposed on all sides to conflagration, and with perhaps only a single fire-proof chamber; and if then any catastrophe should befall us, we should never forgive ourselves, and should almost deserve never to be forgiven by others. If we move at all, we are

bound, in my judgment, to find a fire-proof refuge, — fire-proof in situation and fire-proof in construction. And that, I believe, it would be impossible for us to do with the sum which the sale of this Building would bring us, more especially with the necessary deductions for our Trust Funds and our rents.

I am told the Historic-Genealogical Society have done it, and I would not say a word to disparage their arrangements. They have done a good thing, an excellent thing, doubtless, in moving from where they were to where they are; and the liberality of the public has been well bestowed in aiding them to do it. I congratulate them cordially on their success. But I do not understand that their building can in any just sense be called fire-proof, or that more than one apartment in it has any pretence to that character.

I must not detain you on this subject too long. There is much more I could say. But I shall be satisfied if I leave a distinct impression on the minds of those who have listened to me, that there are two cardinal points to be kept in mind: one, that we must have rents, or some substitute for rents, to meet our interest and expenses; and the other, that we must not contemplate any thing but a fire-proof building.

If we could obtain the means of making our present building fire-proof, and of occupying it all ourselves, or even of leasing only the lower story, it would be indeed a grand consummation. We might then remain here safely and contentedly, at least until that dream of some of us shall be realized, — the dream of a noble edifice, in some fit locality, erected by private or public munificence, inscribed by some worthy name, and dedicated to the Arts and Sciences, as well as to History; where the American Academy and our own Society might have separate libraries, with a common hall; and where our respective labors might be carried on side by side.

But the verification of that vision may still be in the far-distant future. The University and the Museums of Science and of Art seem to be absorbing all the liberality of our community at present.

Yet, perhaps, a little might be spared even now to carry out our humbler plans. If we could even be as successful as our younger Historic-Genealogical sister, and raise a round sum of fifty thousand dollars, as they did, it would afford us comparative relief and independence.

It sometimes seems to me a little hard that the oldest by many years of the Historical Societies of America, and the one which, all admit, has contributed more, both in amount and in value, than almost all the others together, to the materials for the History of our State, of New England, and of our whole

Country, should be without ample means for continuing its work from year to year. The Maine Society has, I hear, obtained an annual subsidy of two thousand dollars from the State, on condition of supplying all the Towns of the State with their successive volumes. We have received far other consideration at the hands of our own Commonwealth. Our New York sister maintains herself in ample halls, with luxurious accommodations and surroundings, by an unlimited admission of members, whose annual assessments abundantly replenish her treasury. Our own Society was organized on the principle that a small number of members would be more likely to work efficiently than a large one. Beginning with a limit of thirty, and extending it afterwards to sixty, we have restricted ourselves, of late years, to a hundred members for the whole State. The restriction has answered well, so far as efficient work is concerned. But it has shut us out from that public and general sympathy which secures patronage and endowments, and which brings large annual receipts into the treasury.

I have often thought, of late, that an increase of our number to one hundred and fifty, or even two hundred, would help our resources, without impairing our efficiency. Two hundred members, with an assessment of *Ten* Dollars a Year, instead of *Seven*, would give us Two Thousand Dollars a Year, instead of Seven Hundred, and would materially improve our financial condition. But while we adhere to our present number and our present assessment, we can only hope that some generous hearts, within or without our ranks, may be stirred to a consideration of our wants and to an appreciation of our work; and that we may come in for a share of that munificence which is the glory of our day and of our community.

I will only add, in conclusion, that, after the most careful deliberation upon the whole matter, I lean strongly to the opinion, that, if our negotiations with the City Government shall fail, and if no other scheme shall present itself which promises as well, we should be wise to go on as we are, — leasing our lower story to some safe tenant, for a reasonable rent, until some means or some opportunity for bettering our condition shall be clearly revealed. Better, a thousand-fold, “bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of.”

But there is no opinion which I am not willing to surrender before the deliberate judgment of those who have the honor and welfare of the Society equally at heart with myself: I will not admit that any one has them more at heart.

8

M

A CATALOGUE
OF
THE CABINET
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I. PAINTINGS.

Portraits of Governors.

1. WINTHROP, JOHN. Born at Groton, Suffolk, England, Jan. 12, 1588. First Governor in Massachusetts of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, from 1630 to 1634. Also Governor, from 1637 to 1639, in 1642, 1643, and from 1646 to 1649. Died, March 26, 1649.

A copy by Charles Osgood. (25×30.) Given by the Hon. T. L. Winthrop, Feb. 27, 1834. See Proceedings, I. 484. The original, ascribed to Van Dyke, is in the Senate Chamber, Boston.

There are numerous copies of this portrait. Two of these are in Memorial Hall, at Cambridge, and one is at the Boston Athenæum. Mr. Robert Winthrop, of New York, has another portrait, which has been suspected to be an original, painted in New England; and the American Antiquarian Society has another.

The first engraving of this portrait was made for Bancroft's History, by Kellogg. There is one in Drake's History of Boston by O. Pelton, one by Sharpe in the Life and Letters of John Winthrop, one in Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, and a woodcut in the Memorial History of Boston, I. 137.

2. WINSLOW, EDWARD. Born at Droitwich, Worcestershire, England, Oct. 19, 1595. Governor of Plymouth Colony, 1633, 1636, 1644. Died at sea, May 8, 1655.

A copy by Edgar Parker, for the Society, October, 1882. (25×30.) Inscribed: "NO : DON : 1651 · ÆTIS : 57." The original,

painted in London in 1651, while Governor Winslow was agent for the Colony in England, is in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.

There is an engraving from this portrait in the Society's Cabinet, one in Bartlett's Pilgrim Fathers, in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, in the Winslow Memorial, in Morton's Memorial, Boston, 1855, in the Narrative and Critical History of America, and in the January number of the Century Magazine for 1883.

3. ENDECOTT, JOHN. Born at Dorchester, England, about 1588. Governor of "London's Plantation in Massachusetts Bay," 1629-1630, and of the Colony, 1644, 1649, 1651 to 1653, 1655 to 1654. Died, March 15, 1665.

A copy by Smibert, 1737, from the original; restored by D. D. Sinclair, June, 1882. (25 × 30.) Given by the Hon. F. C. Gray, Nov. 24, 1836. See Proceedings, II. 61.

There are six other portraits:—

The original, painted 1664-5, from which the above copy was made, is owned by William P. Endicott, Salem. It was retouched by Charles Osgood in 1843.

A copy by an "Italian Painter," for Dr. Bentley, 1797; given by him to the American Antiquarian Society.

A copy by James Frothingham, between 1820 and 1828, deposited by the East India Marine Society in Plummer Hall.

A copy by Southland, 1873. Given to the American Antiquarian Society by the Hon. W. C. Endicott, 1873.

A copy in the Senate Chamber.

A copy by J. Mitchell, 1776, at the Essex Institute, Salem.

See a pamphlet entitled "Plummer Hall," 46, 54. Antiquarian Papers, 34.

There is an engraving of this portrait in the N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register, 201, in Drake's Boston, 49, Memorial History of Boston, I. 308, Felt's Salem, I. and II.; and a heliotype in the Antiquarian Papers, 1879.

4. DUDLEY, JOSEPH. Born at Roxbury, July 23, 1647. Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from 1702 to 1705. Died, April 2, 1720.

Painted in England by —. (25 × 30.) Given by H. A. S. D. Dudley, Jan. 13, 1870. See Proceedings, XI. 201.

There is an engraving from another painting in the Memorial History of Boston, II. 334.

5. BELCHER, JONATHAN. Born at Cambridge, Jan. 8, 1682. Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, from 1730 to 1741. Governor of the Province

of New Jersey, from 1747 to 1757. Died at Elizabethtown, Aug. 31, 1757.

Painted at London by F. Liopoldt, in 1729, while Mr. Belcher was Agent of the Province at the British Court. (25 × 30.) Restored by Darius Chase, 1845. Inscribed: "Given by — before 1838." See Proceedings, II. 289.

See Memorial History of Boston, II. 59.

6. POWNALL, THOMAS. Born at Lincoln, England, 1722. Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from 1756 to 1760. Died, Feb. 25, 1805.

A copy by Pratt, 1861. (29 × 36.) Given by L. M. Sargent, Esq., Oct. 10, 1861. The original, by Francis Cotes, formerly owned by the Pownall family, is at the Earl of Orford's, Norfolk, England. See Proceedings, V. 235; XIV. 161.

The Society's portrait is supposed to be a copy from an engraving by Earlom, a duplicate of one in the Milton-Ernest Rectory, Bedfordshire, owned by the Rev. C. C. Beaty-Pownall.

There is a copy owned by the town of Dresden, Maine; given, Oct. 26, 1860.

See Memorial History of Boston, II. 63.

7. HUTCHINSON, THOMAS. Born at Boston, Sept. 9, 1711. Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from 1758 to 1771. Governor, from 1771 to 1774. Died in England, June 3, 1780.

Painted by Edward Truman, 1741, and supposed to be the only original. (24½ × 29½.) Inscribed: "Edward Truman, pinx, 1741." Given by Peter Wainwright, Jr., Sept. 24, 1835. See Proceedings, II. 17.

There is a woodcut of this portrait in the Memorial History of Boston, II. 68.

8. THE SAME.

Supposed to have been painted by Copley. (14 × 18.) Received in exchange, 1796. See Proceedings, I. 101, 417. Perkins's Copley, 76.

There is an engraving in the N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register, I. 297; in Drake's Boston, 700, 701; and in Dearborn's Boston Notions, 263.

9. STRONG, CALEB. Born at Northampton, Jan. 9, 1745. Governor of Massachusetts, from 1800 to 1807, and from 1812 to 1816. Died, Nov. 7, 1819.

Painted by J. B. Marston, March 25, 1807. (25 × 30.) Restored by D. D. Sinclair, June, 1882. Given by N. Davies Cotton, Dec. 23, 1851, through Dr. William Shurtleff. See Proceedings, II. 480.

10. THE SAME.

A copy by Chester Harding. (Panel, 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 28.) Given by Joseph Lyman, Oct. 12, 1865. The original, by Stuart, is owned by A. C. Thompson, D.D., Roxbury. See Proceedings, I. xxxvi; VIII. 476.

There is an engraving from the original, in the Society's Cabinet, and in Proceedings, I. 290, and one by J. R. Smith, in the first volume of Burdick's Massachusetts Manual, 1814, taken from a painting of W. M. S. Doyle.

11. GORE, CHRISTOPHER. Born at Boston, Sept. 21, 1758. Governor of Massachusetts, 1809, 1810. President of this Society, from 1806 to 1818. Died, March 1, 1827.

Painted by Trumbull, 1800. (Panel, 25 × 30.) Given by several gentlemen, Oct. 30, 1844. See Proceedings, II. 296, 312.

There are two other portraits, all probably painted the same year. One is owned by Harvard University; the other is in the Trumbull Gallery, Yale College. See Catalogue of Trumbull paintings, and Proceedings, XIX. 60.

See Memorial History of Boston, IV. 589. Proceedings, I. 398; XIII. 405. Whitmore's Paine and Gore Families.

12. EVERETT, EDWARD. Born at Dorchester, April 11, 1794. Governor of Massachusetts, from 1836 to 1840. Minister to England, from 1841 to 1845. President of Harvard University, from 1846 to 1849. Secretary of State, 1852-1853, and United States Senator, 1853-1854. Died, Jan. 15, 1865.

Painted by Gilbert Stuart, 1821 (unfinished). (25 × 30.) Given by Thomas Dowse, July 30, 1856. See Proceedings, III. 169-172; IV. 244.

An original portrait at the Public Library, by J. Harvey Young, 1863, was given to the City of Boston by several gentlemen, June, 1870.

For an engraving of the Society's portrait see Proceedings, III. 361. Memorial History of Boston, III. 671. Society's Cabinet.

13. LINCOLN, BENJAMIN. Born at Hingham, Jan. 23, 1733. Appointed Major-General in the Revolutionary Army, Feb. 19, 1777. Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts,

1788, 1789. The first Collector of Customs in Boston under the Constitution, from 1789 to 1808. Died, May 9, 1810.

Painted by Henry Sargent, 1806. (50 × 60.) Inscribed: "Painted by Henry Sargent." Given by several gentlemen of Boston, Jan. 27, 1807. See Proceedings, I. 192. Letter Book of the Corresponding Secretary, pp. 100-104.

14. COBB, DAVID. Born at Attleborough, Sept 14, 1748. Physician in Taunton. Aide-de-camp to Washington. Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, 1809. Died, April 17, 1830.

A copy (22½ × 28½) by Harding, after the original by Stuart, was deposited by Robert Treat Paine, Jan. 14, 1854, and presented to the Society by him, January, 1883.

There is a copy at the State House, of which there is an engraving in the pamphlet account of its presentation.

15. WINTHROP, THOMAS L. Born at New London, March 6, 1760. Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, from 1826 to 1832. President of this Society, from 1835 to 1841. Died, Feb. 22, 1841.

Painted by Charles Osgood, and given by several gentlemen of Boston, Dec. 28, 1837. (29 × 35½.) See Proceedings, II. 94.

There is a portrait by Thomas Sully owned by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop; and the American Antiquarian Society has a copy of the Osgood portrait.

For a heliotype of this portrait, see Proceedings, II. 2, and Society's Cabinet.

16. WENTWORTH, JOHN. Born at Portsmouth, Jan. 16, 1672. Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New Hampshire, from 1717 to 1730. Died, Dec. 12, 1730.

This painting (25 × 30) was given by Sir John Wentworth, Governor of Nova Scotia, February, 1798. It was restored by Darius Chase, 1845. See Proceedings, I. 124. 1st Letter Book, last page.

There is an engraving of a full-length portrait of Governor Wentworth, after Blackburn, in the Wentworth Genealogy.

17. WINTHROP, JOHN, JR. Born at Groton, England, Feb. 12, 1605-6. Governor of Connecticut, from 1635 to 1637, 1657, and from 1659 to 1676. Died April 5, 1676.

A copy (25 × 30), given by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Dec. 11, 1856. See Proceedings, III. 126. The original, painted in England, is in New York.

There is an engraving from it in the Society's Cabinet; also a heliotype in Bowen's *Boundary Disputes*, and in the eighth volume of the Society's *Collections*, Fifth Series; also an engraving in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*.

18. WOLCOTT, OLIVER. Born at Litchfield, Ct., Jan. 11, 1760. Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, from 1795 to 1800. Governor of Connecticut, from 1817 to 1827. Died, June 1, 1833.

Painted by S. S. Osgood, 1832. (29 × 36.) Inscribed: "S. S. OSGOOD PINX'T 1832." Given by Samuel Osgood, Dec. 26, 1834. See Proceedings, I. 498.

There is a portrait by Sully in the Wadsworth Gallery, Hartford, Ct.; also a large portrait by Trumbull, a small one in crayon by Rembrandt Peale, a miniature by Trumbull, and a bust by Clevinger, in the possession of Prof. Wolcott Gibbs. There is also a portrait by Stuart in the possession of the family of the late Gen. Alfred Gibbs.

There is an engraving after Earle in the Society's Cabinet, and one after Trumbull in the *N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register*, IV.

Portraits of Judges.

51. DANFORTH, SAMUEL. Born at Dorchester, Nov. 12, 1696. Member of the Council, from 1739 to 1774. Judge of Probate, from 1745 to 1775, for the County of Middlesex. Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, from 1741 to 1775. Appointed "Mandamus Councillor" in 1774. Died, Oct. 27, 1777.

This painting, by Copley, is on copper. (5 × 6.) It was given by the Misses Danforth, of Boston, Nov. 10, 1881. See Proceedings, XIX. 102. Paige's *History of Cambridge*, 532.

52. OTIS, COL. JAMES. Born at Barnstable, June 14, 1702. Died, Nov. 9, 1778. In 1763 he was appointed Judge of Probate for Barnstable, and in 1764 Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He was also Speaker of the House the same year.

This portrait (15 × 19) is in pastel, and nearly obliterated.

53. DAVIS, JOHN. Born at Plymouth, Jan. 25, 1761. Judge of the District Court of the United States for the District

of Massachusetts, from 1801 to 1847. President of this Society, from 1818 to 1835. Died, Jan. 14, 1847.

Painted by Cole, 1836. (27×35 .) Given by the Hon. T. L. Winthrop, Jan. 28, 1836. See Proceedings, II. 29.

There is a heliotype of this portrait in the Proceedings, I. 272, and in the Society's Cabinet.

Portraits of Clergymen.

76. WILSON, REV. JOHN, D.D. Born at Windsor, England, 1588. First Minister of Boston. Pastor of the First Church, from 1632 to 1667. Died, Aug. 7, 1667.

A supposed original portrait. (25×30 .) Given by Henry Bromfield, Esq., February, 1798. Restored by Darius Chase, 1845. See Proceedings, I. 124; X. 41. 1st Letter Book, last page. With regard to the authenticity of the portrait, which is very doubtful, see Proceedings, XVIII. 264.

77. MATHER, REV. INCREASE, D.D. Born at Dorchester, June 21, 1639. Pastor of the Old North or Second Church, from 1664 to 1723. President of Harvard College, from 1685 to 1701. Died, Aug. 23, 1723.

Painted by John Vanderspriet, London, 1688. (41×49 .) Restored by Darius Chase, 1845. Inscribed: "Ætatis suæ · 49 · 1688." "Joh. VandekSprjtt; 1688." Given by Mr. John Dugan, Jan. 30, 1798. See Proceedings, I. 115; X. 47. Mather Papers, 28.

There is another portrait owned by the American Antiquarian Society.

There is an engraving in the Society's Cabinet by Stuart, in Robbins's Second Church by Wagstaff and Andrews, in the N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register, II. p. 9, by Pelton; and woodcuts in Drake's Boston, p. 448, and Memorial History of Boston, I. 587.

78. BAILEY, REV. JOHN. Born near Blackbourn, in Lancashire, Feb. 24, 1643. Minister at Limerick, Ireland, for about fourteen years. Minister of the First Church in Watertown, from 1686 to 1692. Assistant Minister of the First Church in Boston, from 1693 to 1697. Died, Dec. 12, 1697.

This painting (28 × 29) was given by Nathaniel Willis, Esq., about 1801.

79. COOPER, REV. WILLIAM. Born at Boston, 1694. Colleague to the Rev. Dr. Colman, Brattle Square Church, from 1716 to 1743. Died, Dec. 13, 1743.

Painted by Smibert, 1743. (25 × 30.) Given by Mr. William Perkins, Feb. 12, 1880. See Proceedings, XVII. 328.

There is an engraving by Pelham of this portrait, from which the heliotype in the Memorial History of Boston is taken.

80. PRINCE, REV. THOMAS. Born at Sandwich, May 15, 1687. H. U. 1707. Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, from 1718 to 1758. Died, Oct. 22, 1758.

Painted by John Greenwood. (25 × 30.) Given by the Hon. Jonathan Phillips, Oct. 26, 1831. See Proceedings, I. 448.

There is another portrait owned by the American Antiquarian Society; also an engraving by Pelham, of which there is a heliotype in the Memorial History of Boston, II. 223, and an engraving in the N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register. There is also a woodcut in Drake's Boston, p. 646.

81. WELSTEED, REV. WILLIAM. Born about 1695. Pastor of the New Brick Church, Boston, from 1727 to 1753. Died, Jan. 7, 1753.

Painted by Copley, 1753. (25 × 30.) Given by the Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D., Sept. 29, 1836. See Proceedings, II. 52; Perkins's Copley, p. 121, and supplement. A duplicate is owned by the Unitarian Church in Waltham, Mass. A mezzotint by Copley, from this portrait, is in the Society's Cabinet, and a heliotype from the mezzotint in the Memorial History of Boston, II. 222.

82. GEE, REV. JOSHUA. Born at Boston, June 29, 1698. Colleague to Cotton Mather, of the Second Church, 1723. Pastor, from 1728 to 1748. Died, May 22, 1748.

Painted by Smibert. (25 × 30.) Inscribed: "Ætat: 33." Deposited by the Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D., July 26, 1849. See Proceedings, II. 430.

83. CHAUNCY, REV. CHARLES, D.D. Born at Boston, Jan. 1, 1705. Pastor of the First Church in Boston, from 1727 to 1787. Died, Feb. 10, 1787.

Painted in 1786 for Joseph Woodward, Esq. ($28 \times 31\frac{1}{2}$.) Restored by D. D. Sinclair, June, 1882. Given by Mr. Woodward, Oct. 31, 1833. See Proceedings, I. 479.

There is another painting in Memorial Hall, Cambridge.

There is an engraving of Dr. Chauncy in Fowler's Chauncy Memorials, and in N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register, X. 105; and a woodcut in Ellis's First Church, 193, and in the Memorial History of Boston, II. 226.

84. GRAY, REV. ELLIS. Born in 1715. Colleague to the Rev. William Welsteed, of the New Brick Church, from 1738 to 1753. Died, Jan. 7, 1753.

Painted by Blackburn. (25×30 .) Given by the Rev. Chandler Robbins. See Proceedings, XVI. 389.

There are two other portraits by Blackburn: one is owned by Miss Anne Cary, Chelsea; the other, by William F. Cary, Esq., Boston. Another portrait is owned by the American Antiquarian Society.

85. COOPER, REV. SAMUEL. Born at Boston, March 28, 1725. Pastor of Brattle Street Church, Boston, from 1745 to 1783. Died, Dec. 29, 1783.

Painted by Copley. ($14\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{1}{2}$.) Given by the Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D., Sept. 29, 1836. See Proceedings, II. 52. Perkins's Copley, 46.

There are three other paintings by Copley: one is owned by Dr. O. W. Holmes; another, by the Rev. Dr. Lothrop; a third, probably a copy, by the Brattle Street Church.

There is a woodcut of the above portrait in the Memorial History of Boston, II. 242.

86. LATHROP, REV. JOHN. Born at Norwich, Ct., May 17, 1740. Pastor of the Second Church, from 1768 to 1816. Died, Jan. 4, 1816.

Painted by Williams, on ivory, 1808. ($2\frac{3}{4} \times 3$.) Inscribed: "Williams. 1808." Given by Francis Parkman, Esq., April 14, 1859. See Proceedings, IV. 285.

87. ELIOT, REV. JOHN. Born at Boston, May 31, 1754. A founder of this Society. Pastor of the New North Church, from 1779 to 1813. Died, Feb. 4, 1813.

Painted by King, 1779. (16×18 .) Given by John F. Eliot, Esq., Dec. 14, 1865. See Proceedings, VIII. 481.

There is a heliotype of this portrait in the Proceedings, I. 232.

88. BELKNAP, REV. JEREMY. Born at Boston, June 4, 1744. H. U. 1762. Pastor of the Church at Dover, N. H., from 1767 to 1786. Pastor of the Federal Street Church in Boston, from 1787 to 1798. Founder of this Society in 1791. Died, June 20, 1798.

Painted by Henry Sargent. ($21\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$.) Given by several members, Jan. 29, 1799. See Proceedings, I. 120, 124.

89. THE SAME.

Painted by Henry Sargent, 1798. (28×35 .) Inscribed: "Painted by H. Sargent, 1798." Given by Mrs. Jane Marcou, Jan. 3, 1866.

90. CLARKE, REV. JOHN. Born at Portsmouth, April 13, 1755. Colleague to Dr. Chauncy, of the First Church, from 1778 to 1787. Pastor, from 1787 to 1798. Died, April 1, 1798.

Painted for Mr. Joseph Barrell, Charlestown. ($20\frac{1}{2} \times 26\frac{1}{2}$.) Given by John Clarke Derby, Dec. 26, 1833. See Proceedings, I. 482; XVII. 120.

There is a heliotype of this painting in Ellis's First Church, 213.

91. HOLMES, REV. ABIEL. Born at Woodstock, Ct., Dec. 24, 1763. Pastor of the First Church in Cambridge, from 1792 to 1832. Corresponding Secretary of this Society, from 1813 to 1833. Died, June 4, 1837.

Painted by ———. (9×11 .) Given by Dr. Usher Parsons, April 11, 1861. See Proceedings, V. 195.

92. LOWELL, REV. CHARLES. Born at Boston, Aug. 15, 1782. Senior Pastor of the West Church in Boston, from 1806 to 1861. Died, Jan. 20, 1861.

Painted by Harding. ($37\frac{1}{2} \times 44\frac{1}{2}$.)

93. GRISWOLD, RT. REV. ALEXANDER V. Born at Simsbury, Ct., April 22, 1766. First Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, from 1811 to 1843. Died, Feb. 15, 1843.

Painted by ———. (8×10 .) Given by William H. Whitmore, Oct. 13, 1870. See Proceedings, XI. 388.

There is a portrait at the Essex Institute, deposited by Moses G. Farmer, and one in the Library of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, given by the late Rev. A. H. Vinton, D.D.

94. SHURTLEFF, REV. WILLIAM. Born at Portsmouth, April 4, 1689. Minister at Newcastle, from 1712 to 1732. Minister of the South Church, Portsmouth, from 1733 to 1747. Died, May 9, 1747.

Painted by ———. (25 × 30.) Given by Mrs. Susan Parker and Mrs. Lucretia Lyman, Sept. 29, 1836. See Proceedings, II. 55. Secretary's Records, IV. 83.

A copy of this was painted in 1879, by Mrs. L. A. Bradbury, for the South Church in Portsmouth.

95. BERKELEY, REV. GEORGE. Born at Kilerin, Ireland, March 12, 1684. He was Dean of Derry, and afterwards Bishop of Cloyne. He came to Newport, R. I., in 1729, where he remained two and one half years, when he returned to England. He died at Oxford, England, Jan. 14, 1753.

Painted by Smibert, on his passage to Newport, R. I., in 1728. Restored by Darius Chase, 1845. (25 × 30.) Given by Thomas Wetmore, Esq.

96. ROGERS, REV. JOHN. Prebendary of St. Paul's. Protomartyr in the reign of Queen Mary, under whose orders he was burned at Smithfield, Feb. 4, 1555.

Painted by Copley, 1759. (25 × 30.) Inscribed: "MARTYRIO CORONATUS" "4th Feb^y 1555." "John Singleton Copley Pinx, 1759." Deposited by Mr. Andrew Eliot, Sept. 6, 1854. See Proceedings, II. 585, 611.

There are at least three copies of this portrait: —

A copy of Copley's, by Chester Harding, 1838, for Mr. John W. Rogers.

A copy of Harding's, by Miss Elizabeth Rogers, now owned by Mr. J. Amory Codman.

A copy was given to the American Antiquarian Society by Dr. Bentley.

Portraits of Presidents of the United States.

151. WASHINGTON, GEORGE. Born in Westmoreland County, Va., between Bridge's and Pope's Creek, Feb. 22, 1732 (N.S.). Commander-in-chief of the American Army, from 1775 to 1783. First President of the United States, from 1789 to 1797. Died, Dec. 14, 1799.

A copy from the original, painted by Peale in 1779, and captured by Admiral Keppel while on its way as a present to the Stadtholder of Holland, and now belonging to Keppel's descendant, the Earl of Albemarle, Quiddendam Park, Norfolk. (60 × 96.) Given by Alexander Duncan, Esq., Sept. 10, 1874. See Proceedings, XIII. 323, 376. The first portrait by Peale is in possession of Charles S. Ogden, Esq., of Philadelphia.

There is another portrait by Peale, taken at about the same time; one is owned by the Smithsonian Institute. See Baker's Portraits of Washington, 13, and Memorial History of Boston, III. 198, *n*.

152. THE SAME.

Painted by Joseph Wright, Philadelphia, 1784. Restored by Darius Chase, 1845. (30 × 37.) Given by Israel Thorndike, Dec. 31, 1835. See Proceedings, II. 25.

There is a full-length portrait, by Trumbull, 1791, in Charleston City Hall, for some account of which see Proceedings, XIX. 247.

153. THE SAME.

Painted by ———. Restored by George Howorth, 1855. (58 × 67.)

154. THE SAME.

A copy from Stuart. (24 × 29.) Given by Mrs. James W. Sever (by executors), Jan. 10, 1878. See Proceedings, XVI. 11.

155. ADAMS, JOHN. Born at Braintree, Oct. 19, 1735. The second President of the United States, 1797 to 1801. Died, July 4, 1826.

A copy by Gilbert Stuart Newton, from the original by Gilbert Stuart. (Panel, 21½ × 24.) Given by the Hon. Edward A. Newton, April 10, 1862. See Proceedings, VI. 3.

There is another portrait, by Copley, London, 1783, owned by Harvard College.

There is an engraving of the Society's portrait in the N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register, XI. 97.

156. HARRISON, WILLIAM HENRY. Born at Berkeley, Charles County, Va., Feb. 9, 1773. Ninth President of the United States, 1841. Died, April 4, 1841.

Painted by Hoyt. ($29 \times 35\frac{1}{2}$.) Given by the Hon. Albert Fearing, March 12, 1868. See Proceedings, X. 135.

There is a portrait by Abel Nichols, 1840; given to the Essex Institute, 1860. See "Plummer Hall."

Portraits of Distinguished Statesmen.

201. FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN. Born at Boston, Jan. 17, 1706. Died, April 17, 1790.

A supposed portrait, painted on panel ($9\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$). Given by Miss M. Wheaton, Cambridge, Oct. 14, 1869. See Proceedings, XI. 150, 252.

A portrait by E. T. Billings, owned by the Grand Lodge, is in Sutton Hall.

There are two more portraits, owned by the city of Boston: one painted by Joseph Sifrède Duplessis, in Paris, given by Edward Brooks, in 1858; the other, painted by Jean Baptiste Greuzé, in Paris, given by Gardner Brewer, 1872. See Memorial History of Boston, II. 291, *n*.

202. WEBSTER, DANIEL. Born at Salisbury, N. H., Jan. 18, 1782. Died, Oct. 24, 1852.

A miniature by Miss Goodrich, on ivory. ($3 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$.) Given by Mrs. Eliza Buckminster Lee, Oct. 13, 1864. See Proceedings, VIII. 3.

There is an engraving of this portrait in the N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register, XXI.

203. THE SAME.

A copy by R. M. Staigg, on ivory, 1846 (5×4), from an original miniature by himself, in 1844, and given by Mrs. Isaac P. Davis, June 14, 1866. See Proceedings, IX. 242.

Among other paintings of Mr. Webster, may be mentioned a copy by Jane Stuart, from a portrait by her father, Gilbert Stuart, at the Essex Institute; and another by John Pope, given to the city of Charlestown by G. W. Warren, 1853.

The list of original portraits, statues, and busts of Mr. Webster, as presented to the Webster Historical Society by Judge Dana of Charlestown, January 19, 1883, comprises sixty, of which forty-one are oil portraits. Thirty of these are in Boston, and seven in New York. The city of Boston owns two, Dartmouth College three, Massachusetts Historical Society two, the family of Lord Ashburton one, and France one (at Versailles) ; there is one in the Diplomatic Reception Room at Washington ; and one each at Harvard College, Museum of Fine Arts, Exeter Academy, the Union League, Philadelphia, Boston Athenæum, the Mechanics' Institute, Lowell, the New Hampshire State House, Essex Institute, Salem, and the Pilgrim Society, Plymouth. See Memorial History of Boston, IV. 596, *zz*.

204. QUINCY, JOSIAH. Born at Boston, Feb. 4, 1772. Mayor of Boston, from 1823 to 1829. President of Harvard College, from 1829 to 1845. Died July 1, 1864.

Painted by Moses Wight, February, 1858. (25 × 30.) Given by the Harvard Class of 1829, March 11, 1858. See Proceedings, III. 329.

205. CHOATE, HON. RUFUS. Born at Essex, Oct. 1, 1799. A distinguished scholar and jurist. He represented the Essex District in the Congress of 1832-34, and succeeded Mr. Webster in the United States Senate in 1841. Died, July 13, 1859.

Painted by Prior. (22 × 27.) Given by George C. Lord, Esq., Nov. 21, 1872.

Miscellaneous Portraits.

251. WILLIAM III., PRINCE OF ORANGE. Born at the Hague, Nov. 14, 1650. Died at London, March, 1702.

Probably a copy. (22½ × 29.) See Proceedings, VI. 331.

252. COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER. Born near Genoa, about 1435. Died at Valladolid, Spain, May 20, 1506.

A copy made for Thomas Jefferson, from the original in the gallery of the Uffizi, Florence. (19 × 24.) Restored and lined by D. D. Sinclair, June, 1882. Given by Israel Thorndike, Esq., Dec. 31, 1835. See Proceedings, II. 25.

This copy hung in Mr. Jefferson's drawing-room at Monticello. At his death, in 1826, it came into the possession of the Jefferson family, and about 1828, or later, it was sent to Boston for sale. It was probably bought by Mr. Thorndike. A portrait of Columbus was recently presented to Colby University, Waterville, Me., by Senator Hamlin, copied from an original painting in the Naval Museum, Madrid. See note on Portraits of Columbus in Ticknor's Catalogue (Boston Public Library), p. 94.

There is a lithograph in the Society's Cabinet, after Bazin.

253. VESPUCCI, AMERIGO. Born at Florence, March 9, 1451. Died at Seville, Feb. 22, 1512.

A copy by Bronzino. ($19 \times 23\frac{3}{4}$.) The original was bought of the family about thirty years ago by an American gentleman (C. Edwards Lester, Esq., United States Consul at Genoa). It has been traced to New York. See Proceedings, IV. 118.

There is an engraving from the original in the Society's Cabinet.

254. CABOT, SEBASTIAN. Born at Bristol, England, about 1477. Died about 1557.

A copy by John G. Chapman, in 1838, from a remarkable portrait. (29×36 .) The original was purchased in England, for £500, by Richard Biddle, Esq., of Pittsburg, Pa., who kindly consented to have this copy made for the Massachusetts Historical Society. The original was destroyed by fire about 1840. Inscribed: —

"EFFIGIES · SEBASTIANI CABOTI
ANGLIFILII · IOHĀNIS · CABOTI · VENE
TI · MILITIS · AVRATI · PRIMI · INVĒT
ORIS · TERRÆ · NOVÆ · SVB · HENRICO VII · ANGL
IÆ · REGE."

"SPES · MEA · IN · DEO · EST."¹

Given by the Hon. T. L. Winthrop, June 28, 1838. See Proceedings, II. 101, 111; VIII. 91. Purchas, IV. 1812; V. 323.

There is a copy by Cephias G. Thompson from the same original, owned by the New York Historical Society.

255. CORTEZ, HERNANDO. Born at Medellin, Estremadura, Spain, 1485. Conqueror of Mexico. Died at Seville, 1547.

An engraving, probably by Pether, 1770. Restored by Henry Sargent, about 1831; and again by George Howorth, about 1855. ($14\frac{1}{2} \times 18$.)

¹ For other particulars of the original portrait, see the Memoir of Sebastian Cabot by Mr. Biddle, London, 1831, pp. 523-25, and Narrative and Critical History of America.

This picture came from Europe with one of the Huguenot families that settled in New England, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and was bequeathed to the late Rev. John Foster of Brighton. It was presented to the Society by Mrs. John Foster, April 29, 1830. See Proceedings, I. 446.

256. SALTONSTALL, SIR RICHARD. Born at Halifax, England, April 4, 1586. Died in England, about 1658.

A copy (23 × 33) from the original by Rembrandt, painted in 1644, and owned by Leverett Saltonstall, Esq. Given by Charles Sanders, Esq., April 8, 1858. See Proceedings, IV. 2, 3. There is a copy in Memorial Hall at Cambridge.

An engraving of this portrait forms the frontispiece of the fourth volume of the Society's Proceedings. There is also an engraving in the Memorial History of Boston, I. 183, and in Drake's Boston, 122.

257. CLARK, DR. JOHN. He was born in England, in 1598, had a learned education, and received a diploma in England for his success in the operation of lithotomy. He came to America in 1650, and is said to have been the "first physician in this country who performed the operation of trepanning the skull."

This portrait was painted in 1664 (27 × 34), and is inscribed: "ÆTATIS · SVÆ 66 · ANN. SUO." Given by Dr. John Clarke Howard, Oct. 31, 1833. See Proceedings, I. 479-80; X. 47.

There is an engraving by Graham in the Society's Cabinet, after Lovett, and in the Narrative and Critical History of America; and a lithograph in Thacher's Medical Biography, also in Coffin's History of Newbury. The Rev. Dr. Harris, in a former volume of the Society's Collections, erroneously assigns this portrait to Dr. John Clarke, of Rhode Island who was instrumental in procuring a second charter for that Colony. See 3d Coll. VII. 287.

258. MASCARENE, JEAN PAUL. Born at Castras, Languedoc, France, 1684. Governor of Nova Scotia, from 1740 to 1749. Died at Boston, Jan. 22, 1760.

Painted by William H. Whitmore, February, 1871. (14 × 17.) The original is in Halifax. Presented by Mr. Whitmore, March 9, 1871. See Proceedings, XII. 53.

259. PAXTON, CHARLES. Born in 1704. Commissioner of Customs at Boston previous to the Evacuation by the British. He went to England in 1776, where he died, March, 1788.

Painted by Edward Truman. (25 × 30.) Given by Peter Wainwright, Jr., Sept. 24, 1835. See Proceedings, II. 17.

There is a portrait, supposed to be by Copley, owned by the American Antiquarian Society.

260. ROUSSEAU, JEAN JACQUES. Born at Geneva, Switzerland, June 28, 1712. Died, July 2, 1778.

A copy by Mrs. Charles C. Little (then Miss Abby Wheaton), 1846 (in pastel). (15½ × 19½.) The original, painted by Latour, was in the possession of Sébastien Cornu, who allowed this copy to be made on condition that no other copy should ever be made from it. Given by Mrs. Charles C. Little, Sept. 8, 1881. See Proceedings, XIX. 53.

261. LAFAYETTE, MARQUIS DE. Born at Chavagnac, Sept. 6, 1757. Died at Paris, May 19, 1834.

Painted in Paris, for Thomas Jefferson. Restored by Darius Chase, 1844-45, and again by George Howorth, 1858. (28½ × 36.) Given by Mrs. J. W. Davis, Aug. 25, 1835. See Proceedings, II. 16.

There are many other portraits of Lafayette : —

A painting, full length, by Ary Scheffer, 1824, in the Capitol at Washington, given by him, 1824. See Proceedings, XIX. 55.

A painting by Charles C. Ingham, an original, 1825, in the rooms of the New York Historical Society.

A copy from this, full length, by Stale, in the State House at Albany ; and a copy by E. T. Billings, in Sutton Hall, owned by the Grand Lodge.

A photograph, taken from a sketch of Lafayette as a young man, was recently presented to the Hon. R. C. Winthrop by Madame de Corcelle, a granddaughter of Lafayette. The sketch is an aquarelle, or water-color, and portrays him as he stood at the head of the American troops during the Virginia Campaign in 1781. It belonged to Madame de Lafayette, by whom it was bequeathed to her daughter, Madame de Latour Maubourg, and is now in Turin in the possession of her granddaughter, Madame La Baronne de Perron Saint Martin.

262. HUMBOLDT, BARON VON. Born at Berlin, Prussia, Sept. 4, 1769. Died, May 16, 1859.

A copy by Moses B. Russell. The original, by Moses Wight, Berlin, February, 1852. (25 × 30.) Given by several members of the Society, Nov. 13, 1879. See Proceedings, XVII. 229. (Five sittings.)

263. WINSLOW, DR. ISAAC.

Given by Dr. Asa Willet, Bridgewater, June 6, 1867. See Proceedings, X. 36.

264. PIKE, MAJOR ROBERT, Salisbury. Born about 1616. Councillor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from 1693 to 1695. Died, Dec. 12, 1706.

This painting (25 × 30) was given by Mrs. W. K. Atkinson, Dover, N. H., Sept. 29, 1836, and restored by D. D. Sinclair, June, 1882. See Proceedings, II. 55.

265. POLLARD, MRS. ANNE. Wife of William Pollard, of Boston. Born at Saffron Walden, Essex, England, about 1620. Died, Dec. 6, 1725.

Painted in 1721. (24 × 28¾.) Inscribed: "Ætatis Suæ 100 & 3 Months. Apr Anno 1721." Given by Isaac Winslow, Esq., Dec. 26, 1834. See Proceedings, I. 498. Savage's Genealogical Dictionary, III. 449. Loring's Hundred Boston Orators, p. 365. Drake's Boston, p. 98. The New-England Courant, Dec. 11, 1725.

266. DAVIS, MRS. MARY. Born, 1635. Died at Newton, 1752, æt. 117.

Painted by Smibert, at the request of Governor Belcher. (9½ × 13.) The effigy of Mrs. Mary Davis, aged 117. She had three husbands, by whom she had nine children. "She had forty-five grandchildren, two hundred great-grandchildren, and eight hundred great-great-grandchildren. At 104 she could do a good day's work at shelling corn; at 110 she sat at her spinning-wheel. She was drove off from the eastward forty years." Given by the Rev. William Bentley, Salem, Jan. 27, 1801. See Proceedings, I. 139. Collections, 1st Series, VII. 169. Smith's History of Newton, p. 774.

267. SHRIMPTON, COLONEL SAMUEL. Born at Boston, about May 31, 1643. Member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, from 1670 to 1698. Councillor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from 1687 to 1689, and from 1695 to 1697. Died, Feb. 8, 1697-8.

This portrait (25 × 30) was bequeathed by the late General William H. Sumner, and presented to the Society Dec. 4, 1872. See Proceedings, XII. 289.

There is a woodcut of this portrait in the Memorial History of Boston, I. 584, and a lithograph in Sumner's East Boston, 187.

268. DUDLEY, REBECCA. Wife of Governor Dudley.

This portrait (25 × 30) was given by H. A. S. D. Dudley, Jan. 13, 1870. See Proceedings, XI. 201.

269. STODDARD, SIMEON. Born at Boston, 1650. Died, Oct. 15, 1730.

This portrait (25 × 30) was bequeathed by the late General William H. Sumner, and presented Dec. 4, 1872. See Proceedings, XII. 289.

There is a woodcut in the Memorial History of Boston, I. 583, and a lithograph in Sumner's East Boston, p. 225.

270. HAYLEY, REV. WILLIAM, D.D. Born at Chichester, about 1656, and installed Dean of Chichester, June 5, 1699. He died in 1715.

Painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller (probably). (Oval, 24 × 28.) The arms and crest on the portrait are those of Hayley (granted, according to Edmondson, in 1701), empaled with the armorial bearings of Mears. See Proceedings, VI. 17, 22.

271. SMIBERT, MRS. MARY. Wife of John Smibert, artist.

Painted by Smibert. (25 × 30.) Given by Samuel Parker, Nov. 27, 1848. See Proceedings, II. 418.

272. GEE, MRS. ANNA. Second wife of the Rev. Joshua Gee.

Painted by Smibert. Deposited by the Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D., July 26, 1849. See Proceedings, II. 430.

273. POLLARD, BENJAMIN. Born, June, 1696. First Captain of "The Independent Company of Cadets," in 1741, and High Sheriff of Suffolk County, from 1743 to 1756. Died, Dec. 26, 1756.

Painted by Blackburn. Restored by D. D. Sinclair, June, 1882. (25 × 30.) Given by Isaac Winslow, Esq., Dec. 26, 1834. See Proceedings, I. 498. Account Book, November, 1848. Proceedings, XVI. 390.

274. FANEUIL, PETER. Born at New Rochelle, N. Y., June 20, 1700. He gave Faneuil Hall to the town of Boston, Sept. 10, 1742. Died, March 3, 1742-3.

Painted by Smibert. Restored by Darius Chase, 1845. (40½ × 50.) Given by the heirs of Edward Jones, Oct. 29, 1835. See Proceedings, II. 19.

A copy of this, painted by Henry Sargent, is in Faneuil Hall.

There is an engraving of this painting in the Magazine of American History, and a woodcut in the Memorial History of Boston, II. 260.

275. BROWN, ELISHA.

Painted in water-colors. Inscription on the Monument: —

"*Elisha Brown*, of Boston, who in October 1769, during
17 Days, inspired with generous zeal for the *Laws*
bravely and successfully opposed a whole British
Regt in their violent attempt to force him from his
legal habitation. Happy Citizen, when called
singly to be a barrier to the LIBERTIES of a

CONTINENT.

As some strong Oak, w^{ch} towers amid the wood,
Braves the wild storm, when clouds indignant lowr.
Thus self collected *Brown*, undaunted stood
Alone, and dar'd Britannia's chosen pow'r
All hail! thou citizen of deathless worth!
Meek as the Lamb, yet like the Lion bold!
Fame's laurel wreath shall deck y^s spot of earth
And virtue's civic crown immortalize y^e mould."

Given by Joseph Ballard, Esq., Dec. 20, 1852. Proceedings, II. 508.

276. CHURCH, BENJAMIN. Royal Army Surgeon, London.

A silhouette. (2½.) Given by Mrs. Mary Bunn Longhurst, Oct. 28, 1851. See Proceedings, II. 477.

277. A PORTRAIT. (25 × 30.) History unknown.

278. A PORTRAIT. History unknown.

Inscribed on back of a volume, "Book of Rates." (36 × 46.) Given by Mrs. F. P. Webber, July 23, 1872. See Proceedings, XII. 264.

279. STODDARD, MRS. SIMEON.

This painting (25 × 30) was bequeathed by the late General William H. Sumner, and presented Dec. 4, 1872. See Proceedings, XII. 289.

There is a woodcut in the Memorial History of Boston, I. 585, and a lithograph in Sumner's East Boston, 220.

280. GRAY, JOHN. Owner of the ropewalk at the foot of Hutchinson Street, now Pearl Street, and an actor in the Boston Tea-party.

A miniature set in a locket. (Oval, 1½ × 2.) Given by Mrs. Elizabeth P. Parker, May 12, 1881. See Proceedings, XVIII. 423.

281. COLLINS, ISAAC. Naval officer during the Revolution, and pensioner of the United States until his death.
Painted in 1790. (20 × 24.) Given by Nathaniel Willis, Esq., May 8, 1862. See Proceedings, VI. 20.
282. MASON, HON. JONATHAN. Born, 1725. "Merchant of Boston." Deacon of the Old South Church, from 1770 to 1798. Died, May 5, 1798.
A copy by his grandson, Jonathan Mason, 1822. (25 × 30.) The original, by Johnson, in 1783. Given by the Hon. Jonathan Phillips, before July 30, 1835.
283. ATKINS, DUDLEY. Born, 1731. Died, 1767.
A painting, in water-coloring, by Johnson. Given by the Rev. E. C. Guild, Jan. 9, 1879. See Proceedings, XVII. 2.
284. BOONE, DANIEL. Born in Bucks County, Pa., Feb. 11, 1735. First settler of Kentucky. Died, Sept. 26, 1820.
Painted by Chester Harding, 1821. (17 × 22.) Given by the Hon. George T. Bigelow, May 9, 1861. See Proceedings, V. 197.
There is another portrait, by Harding, in the State House of Kentucky.
285. SHURTLEFF, MRS. Wife of the Rev. William Shurtleff.
Painted by . (25 × 30.) Given by Mrs. W. K. Atkinson, Dover, N. H., Sept. 29, 1836. See Proceedings, II. 55.
286. ALLEN, JAMES. Born at Boston, July 24, 1739. Died, Oct. 21, 1808.
Painted by Copley. Restored by Darius Chase, 1845. (25 × 30.) Given by Mrs. Susan Allen, widow of James Allen, Dec. 29, 1836. See Proceedings, II. 65.
287. ALLEN, JEREMIAH. Born in 1750. High Sheriff of Suffolk County, from 1792 to 1809. Died, Feb. 12, 1809.
Painted by Stuart. (Panel, 22½ × 27½.) Restored by Darius Chase, 1845. Given by Mrs. Susan Allen, Dec. 29, 1836. See Proceedings, II. 65.
288. WEBSTER, REDFORD. Born about 1761. Cabinet-keeper of the Society, from 1810 to 1833. Died, Aug. 31, 1833.

Painted by Harding. (25 × 30.) Given by Mrs. John W. Webster, March 25, 1851. See Proceedings, II. 469.

289. APPLETON, SAMUEL. Born at New Ipswich, N. H., June 22, 1766. Founder of the "Appleton Publishing Fund." Died, July 12, 1853.

A copy by Moses Wight, 1857 (oval, 22 × 27), from the original painted by Healy in 1847. Procured by order of the Society. See Proceedings, III. 130.

There is an engraving in the Proceedings, III. 7, and one in the N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register, V. 8.

290. DOWSE, THOMAS. Born at Charlestown, 1772. Died, Nov. 4, 1856.

Painted by M. Wight, 1856. (40 × 50.) Inscribed: "M. WIGHT, PINXT 1856." Given by his Executors, April 9, 1857. See Proceedings, III. 110, 115; IV. 244.

291. ALLSTON, WASHINGTON. Born at Waccamaco, S. C., Nov. 5, 1779. Died, July 9, 1843.

Painted by Chester Harding (unfinished). (21¾ × 27½.) Given by Mrs. George T. Bigelow, March 13, 1879. See Proceedings, XVII. 51.

292. SUMNER, WILLIAM H. Born at Dorchester, July 4, 1780. Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, from 1818 to 1834. Died, Oct. 24, 1861.

Painted by Wilson, 1859. (Oval, 29 × 36.) Given by James W. Gerard, Executor, Jan. 9, 1873. See Proceedings, XII. 317.

There is a lithograph in Sumner's East Boston.

293. SAVAGE, JAMES. Born at Boston, July 13, 1784. President of the Society, from 1841 to 1855. Died, March 8, 1873.

Painted by Moses Wight, 1856. (29½ × 37½.)

294. SEARS, DAVID. Born, 1787. Died, Jan. 14, 1871.

Painted by H. C. Pratt, 1858. (36 × 48.) Given by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Oct. 9, 1873. See Proceedings, XIII. 100.

295. BALDWIN, JAMES T.

Painted by George P. A. Healy. (29 × 36.) Given by Mrs. Baldwin, April 13, 1871. See Proceedings, XII. 67.

296. APPLETON, JOHN, M.D.

Painted by Cyrus and Darius Cobb. (Panel, $7\frac{3}{4} \times 10$.) Given by them, March 9, 1871. See Proceedings, XII. 56.

297. HILLARD, GEORGE S. Born at Machias, Me., Sept. 22, 1808. Died, Jan. 10, 1879.

A copy by William Willard, Sturbridge, 1878. (Panel, $18\frac{3}{8} \times 23\frac{3}{8}$.) The original, a photograph, taken in 1865, is owned by Mr. Willard. Given by the trustees of the Sanders Fund, Oct. 9, 1879. See Proceedings, XVII. 165, and Letter.

Miscellaneous Paintings.

351. U. S. SHIP COLUMBIA. Views of the ship Columbia, on her first voyage to the northwest coast.

Painted by one of the sailors. ($13\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$.)

1. "Surprised by the natives of Checklezet."
2. "Attacked at Juan de Fuca Straits."
3. "Winter Quarters."

Given by Mr. Joseph Russell, Aug 17, 1795. See Proceedings, I. 88.

352. TWO BRITISH SHIPS OF WAR. (44 × 34.) History unknown.

353. BICESTER CHURCH. Church of St. Edburg, Bicester, England. Built about 1400.

Painted, in water-colors, by H. G. Somerby, 1854. ($12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$.) Bequeathed by General William H. Sumner, and presented to the Society Dec. 4, 1872. See Proceedings, XII. 289.

There is an engraving in Sumner's East Boston, p. 281.

354. OLD STATE HOUSE. Built, 1712-13. Partially destroyed, 1747. Rebuilt, 1748. Restored to its original form, 1881.

Painted by James B. Marston, April 19, 1801. (50 × 40.) Given by subscription, May 8, 1879. See Proceedings, XVII. 78. There is a painting in the Public Library, by Salmon, representing the burning of the State House, November, 1832.

For an account of the engravings of this building see Memorial History of Boston, IV. 11, note.

355. OLD FEATHER STORE. Corner of North and Market Streets, taken down about 1860

Painted between 1821 and 1824. (40 × 30.) Given by William H. Whitmore, June, 1871. See Proceedings, XII. 218, and Memorial History of Boston, I. 547.

356. THE SAME.

Painted in water-colors by Mr. James Kidder, of Charlestown, for Nathaniel R. Holden, Esq., of Charlestown. (13¼ × 9¼.) This is the only picture of the old building of 1680 that shows the old stalls in Market Square. Given by William H. Keith, Aug. 12, 1869.

357. DUDLEY COAT OF ARMS.

Painted by Mrs. L. A. Bradbury. (2¼ sq.) Given by Mrs. Bradbury, April 22, 1882.

358. PALMER HOUSE. This stood on Brattle Street, Cambridge, "not far from the 'village smithy,' but on the opposite side. It was taken down before 1825, and may have been the residence of Stephen Palmer, the tanner."

A copy, in water-colors, by Mrs. L. A. Bradbury. (9¾ × 7⅝.) The original was painted by Mr. Appleton, her father, when a boy, about 1810. Inscribed: "Old Palmer House, Cambridge, Mass." Given by Mrs. Bradbury, May 8, 1879. See Proceedings, XVII. 78, and Secretary's Records, IV. 86.

359. A PAINTING ON WOOD. A representation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, said to have been taken from a door of a church in Rome built A.D. 600.

(12 × 35.) Given by John Low and Darius Chase, January 30, 1845. See Proceedings, II. 303.

9

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

ON

WITCHCRAFT IN MASSACHUSETTS:

A Critical Examination

OF

THE ALLEGED LAW OF 1711 FOR REVERSING THE
ATTAINERS OF THE WITCHES OF 1692.

BY

GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D.,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY, MARCH 13, 1884.

CAMBRIDGE:

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WITCHCRAFT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

AT a meeting of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, held March 13, 1884, the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, introduced, in fitting terms, Dr. GEORGE H. MOORE, of New York, who presented the following communication : —

First of all, I desire to acknowledge the characteristic and generous courtesy of my friend, who has challenged in so charming and chivalrous a manner the correctness of some of my statements.¹ One would almost be willing to go astray to be brought back to the right path so kindly. I venture to differ from him with the highest respect. I am sure of his sympathy in the present attempt to explain my position and to throw such additional light upon the chief point at issue between us as the explanation may furnish. I think I shall make it clear that I have not been mistaken in my assignment of error.

In my Notes² I pointed out as an error in the current history of witchcraft in Massachusetts the statement that the General Court passed an act reversing "the several convictions, judgments, and attainders against the persons executed, and several

¹ Further Notes on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts. With a Heliotype Plate of the Act of 1711, and an Appendix. By Abner Cheney Goodell, Jr. Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, June, 1883, p. 280.

² Notes on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts; with Illustrative Documents. By George H. Moore. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, October, 1882, vol. ii. n. s. p. 162.

who were condemned but not executed." I did not neglect to add that "an act of this sort has actually been printed, and has found place and authority among recognized materials of history; but no such act ever became a law." I also referred to a private act of 1703, reversing the attainders of three of the sufferers, and added: "This private act was the only law of the kind which can be found in all the legislation of Massachusetts."

The writers whom I criticised furnished no authority for their statements respecting the law in question which was deemed sufficient by the State Commissioners to warrant them in recognizing it as a completed act of legislation. It is not to be found in their grand collection of all the Province Laws, — that noble and lasting monument of the wise liberality of the Commonwealth, as well as the rare learning and ability of the Editor. From that fact I gained fresh confidence in the results of studies which had led me to deny the existence of any such law before the point was thus so authoritatively settled.

But the present situation is much changed. Since the first volume of the Province Laws was published, Mr. Goodell has made an interesting discovery, which he regards as conclusive in determining the validity of the act in question and establishing its authority as a complete law. I sincerely regret that I am unable to agree with him in this conclusion; but my reasons will appear in what I have to say on the present occasion.

Mr. Goodell has not only met my statements by the confident assertion that such an act was actually passed, but he has produced a document bearing the imprint, "Boston: Printed by B. Green, Printer to His Excellency the Governour and Council, 1713." He has most kindly and promptly furnished me with a fac-simile of it, together with copies of everything at his command to illustrate its history. These, however, do not include any explanation of its long concealment (through more than a century and a half), or whence it has now come to assert its own existence and authority, and to challenge the criticism which is its due. It is hardly necessary for me to say that it was entirely unknown to me, or to explain that it is not the same thing to which I referred in my paper. It was equally unknown, no doubt, to all the writers whose statements I contradicted.

"There can be no averment against a record," is good history as well as good law; but history and law alike require that a record shall be complete. The House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in 1770, gave Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson one of their carefully stated legal opinions, from which I venture to quote an appropriate passage:—

*"No law can be valid unless it be enacted by the Governor, Council, and House of Representatives assembled in General Court; and this must appear from the Parchment roll wherein the act is recorded, otherwise the record itself is not complete, and it becomes necessary to resort to dehors Evidence to prove a fact essential to the validity of the Act, which is against the established rule respecting Records."*¹

The rolls of the acts were in parchment under the Province Seal.² It may be difficult to explain to a generation which has almost forgotten the efficacy of any seal, excepting that which certifies the brand of a favorite wine, that awful mystery of authority and sanctity which belonged to seals, from the Great Seal of the Kingdom, or that of the Province, down to the curious little impressions in wax which still sometimes puzzle the heraldic and genealogical studies of local antiquaries. But "the men of Massachusetts" in the eighteenth century had not forgotten the traditions of their fathers; and every detail of due formality in legislation was then as carefully observed as ever was the etiquette of an imperial court or a royal household.

The history of this attempt at legislation may be briefly told. A petition had been prepared to be presented to the General Court in October, 1708, and was presented to the Council in the following year, for an act to "restore y^e Reputations to the posterity of the sufferers [in the witchcraft of 1692], and to remunerate" them for their losses in property. Here are two things to be done, which must be kept in

¹ Journal, 1770, p. 134.

² This usage apparently did not prevail under the first charter; for in the "Observations upon the Laws of Massachusetts, October, 1692," "It, is humbly enquired whether the Act for continuing the local Lawes to stand in force, &c., be not a breach upon the method apointed for the making of Lawes either by the old Charter or New settlement haveing never any of them been ingrossed in parchment or a seale affixed to them and haveing been declared voyd by the King's Councill learned in the law for want of such method of enacting," etc. — *Province Laws*, vol. i. p. 109.

mind: 1. Restoration of reputation; 2. Remuneration for losses in property.

The only immediate action was to order a bill for the first of these claims, — restoration in point of character; and accordingly the Bill to reverse the Attainders of several Persons for Witchcraft was read three several times, debated and passed on the same day (June 10, 1709), the names of the persons to be agreed upon by both houses for insertion in the bill subsequently.¹ There is no evidence whatever in this record to justify the inference that there was a general feeling in the Council in favor of pecuniary reparation, — that part of the petition being entirely ignored..

Nothing further was done during that session; but the bill was again read and voted to be revived on the 9th of November in a subsequent session, and sent down to the House of Representatives for concurrence, which it failed to receive.

The next step forward was not taken until after the beginning of another political year, in a new General Court, on June 27, 1710, when a bill of the same tenor, if not the same bill, appeared in the Council, with an order annexed thereto appointing a joint committee to inquire, —

1. What names should be inserted in the bill to reverse the attainders of the sufferers; and

2. What damages they sustained by their prosecution.

Here, for the first time, we find the claim for compensation noticed by the legislature, more than a year after the time when it is alleged that the feeling was general in the Council favorable to such action. Again: although the committee thus appointed performed all the work they ever did on the subject in this second year, no further trace appears of legislative action until the autumn of the third political year. The result of their labors was a report containing, (1) a recommendation of the names of twenty-two persons, out of the thirty-one condemned, to be inserted for the reversing of their attainders; and (2) a statement of the several sums of damages which the committee thought would be readily complied with by the legislature, to be paid to the same persons whose at-

¹ Why any delay was necessary in agreeing upon the names to be inserted, why agreement was suggested, unless there were differences of opinion of a serious nature, can hardly be explained.

tainers they thought should be reversed, the names of Sarah Wardwell and Elizabeth Procter being coupled with those of their husbands respectively in the award. These women had been relieved of their attainder by a previous act of the legislature in 1703, as well as Abigail Falkner. This woman, who was condemned Sept. 17, 1692, reprieved and afterwards pardoned by Governor Phips, was not only awarded damages, but recommended for a third purgation by this committee. Why she needed or received this triple relief from the pains and penalties of her conviction and sentence does not appear.

The remaining victims —

Bridget Bishop, executed	June 10th,
Susanna Martin, “	July 19th,
Alice Parker, “	September 22d,
Ann Pudeater, “	“ “
Margaret Scot, “	“ “
Wilmot Read, “	“ “

and Eliz. Johnson, Jr., condemned J. 11th, 1693, but not executed —

were not included in any legislative benefit.

Perhaps the following brief letter from one of the committee to Major Sewall will furnish the clew to an explanation of this fact:¹—

MR SEWALL. — S^r I thought good to returne to you y^e names of severall psons y^t were Condemned & Executed that not any person or relations Appeared in y^e behalfe of for y^e taking of y^e Attainder or for other [their?] Expences, they I supposed were returned to y^e Gen^l Courts consideration for to act about according to their best prudence. Bridget Bishop alias Oliver, Susanna Martin, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeter, Welmot Read, Marget Scot.

S^r I am y^r Honors to Serue,

NEH. JEWET.

“The best prudence” of the legislature in leaving out all who were not claimants or represented by claimants of money, etc., may explain their omission or reluctance to make a general act.

Another letter of Nehemiah Jewett to Stephen Sewall, dated 28th November, 1711, furnishes a list of the names of the respective sufferers, and the sums that the petitioners

¹ Records of Salem Witchcraft, vol. ii. p. 249.

prayed for. A comparison of this list with the report to the legislature will show that in every instance (excepting one, and that evidently a clerical or typographical error) the amounts allowed were exactly the same as those prayed for. Why the committee stated in their report that they had heard the several demands, etc., and that upon conference these were moderated, etc., remains to be explained.

This report of the committee, bearing date "Salem, y^e 14th Sept^r, 1710," was read and accepted in the House of Representatives, and sent up for concurrence on the 23d of October, 1711. It was concurred in by the Council on the 26th of October, and appears of record as having been consented to by the Governor. As without his consent or approbation, signified and declared in writing, no law could be of any force, effect, or validity whatever,¹ so this report, being an act made by the House of Representatives and the Council, became valid as a statute by the same consent.²

On the 27th of October, 1711, the day after the report of the committee became a law, the bill for reversing the attainders appears again, with the record that it had been passed by the General Assembly at their sessions, 1709,³ to be engrossed, and a committee had been appointed to consider the names of persons to be inserted, and upon their report now inserted, was again read and passed to be engrossed.

On the 2d of November the General Court Records state that the engrossed Bill to reverse the Attainders of George Burroughs and others for Witchcraft passed in the House of Representatives, was read and concurred to be enacted. So far we have the record, — but no farther. "Here," says Mr. Goodell himself, "we encounter a doubt which cannot be wholly removed without reference to external evidence." There is no record evidence whatever of the consent or appro-

¹ Province Charter.

² Barrington on the Statutes, p. 46.

³ This may have been a clerical error for 1710, as the committee was certainly not appointed in 1709, — no very remarkable error, either, all things considered. Mr. Goodell says "the bill had been kept alive by virtue of a general order passed the last day of the second session of 1711, continuing all unfinished business to the fall session." He does not explain how the bill retained its vitality during the previous year, — from June 27, 1710, till the 7th July, 1711. But its history exhibits an unprecedented series of resuscitations after parliamentary death, of which its present resurrection is perhaps the most marvellous.

bation of the Governor, which was absolutely necessary to give any force, effect, or validity to the enactment. "From the nature of these records, it follows that an entry of final passage is not conclusive evidence of complete enactment."

I have the highest authority for the statement that the Governor's consent was indicated upon the passage of a bill :

"From 1693 onward the invariable practice was to sign as follows :

'I consent to the enacting of this Bill.

RICHARD ROE.'

"This was preceded by the usual memoranda of passage by the two branches. The memorandum of the Governor's consent was sometimes prefaced 'By his Excellency, the Governour,' and this finally became the general practice."

There is, therefore, no probability of setting up any record evidence of Governor Dudley's consent to this act. It must be proved, if it is proved at all, by "dehors evidence."

The difficulty thus encountered is very serious, and we must have some other evidence to supplement the bare presumption that the bill received the Governor's signature, and passed the Province Seal. The original records of acts are said to have been consumed in the great fire of 1747 ; — the engrossment of this act is not in the Secretary's office ; nor is a copy of the bill, or the original draft thereof, to be found among the archives. No mention of any such act has been found in the Public Record Office in London, nor any indication of its existence in the British Museum or in any other known collection, public or private, excepting the well-known manuscript at Salem, and the printed sheet of 1713 (now produced), which also comes from Salem.

The copy at Salem, although it is said to be in a handwriting which those familiar with the Massachusetts archives can identify as that of Addington or one of the nameless clerks who assisted him in the Secretary's office, was not attested, and bore on its face no evidence of having been signed or sealed, and was without the usual memoranda showing the dates of the several stages of its passage and the fact of its publication.

Thus, although it has been considered as an official copy, which was procured by an attorney who had been employed for

the purpose, and by him placed on file among his official papers, it bears only the slightest evidence of authority for the supposition that the bill ever became a law. The inference is unavoidable, that it was inchoate, and at best was indicative of what might have been regarded as due to the petitioners, or what they themselves desired, but which they may have been, either willingly or unwillingly, obliged to relinquish, perhaps in consideration of receiving pecuniary relief.

Sewall's employment to procure "a copy of the act" bears the date "December, 1711." It was therefore obtained probably at the same time with the warrant on the Treasury, which was dated (Dec. 17, 1711) more than six weeks after its passage, and certainly not less than a month after the end of the session,¹ when, if ever, the enrolment of the law must have been in the Secretary's office. Why is it incomplete? The only explanation possible is that the act had not been completed. The only complete enactment on the subject at that time was the report of the Committee of Award and Distribution, which, as I have said, became itself an act or law by the signature of the Governor.

It will be important to keep this fact distinctly in mind throughout the whole of the argument which is to follow; and I repeat it. The report of the committee which related to both the reversal of attainders and the award of indemnity became a law in October, 1711. The bill for reversing the attainders, which made no reference whatever to any pecuniary benefit, never became a law, although it passed through two branches of the legislature, Nov. 2, 1711.

This latter bill, if recognized and accepted by the Commissioners, must stand alone by itself, without peer or parallel in all the legislation of the Province of Massachusetts. I find not one act in the whole series so nearly without any support, so improbable in itself, or so questionable in shape as it now reaches us.

Mr. Goodell refers to other acts of the same year (1711), about the completion of which he had entertained doubts which were afterwards cleared up. But this act was not among them, and differs entirely in its status. All those

¹ The fifth session of the General Court of 1711-12 ended on the 10th of November, 1711.

referred to are known to have been printed contemporaneously in due course and by regular official authority, — two of them in the supplements to the edition of 1699; one of them a Temporary Act of short continuance, published by proclamation; and a fourth a Tax Act, always in those days printed separately.

The only additional light which has enabled Mr. Goodell to accept and assert the genuineness of the act is the production of a copy purporting to have been printed by the official printer two years after the date of its passage through two branches of the legislature.

In ordinary cases this might be taken as conclusive, carrying on its face presumptive evidence that the necessary approval of the Governor could not have been wanting. Very high notions were in vogue at that time about the dignity of the General Court as well as the Chief Magistrate; and it is difficult to believe that the official printer would dare to print as an act of the legislature anything which in any way fell short of being so.

But, granting the fact claimed for it that it was printed in Green's office, it is possible that the printer's types were used for the purpose clandestinely, with or without his knowledge, that he was imposed upon or acted without proper authority, and that the sheet was either never publicly exposed or that it was promptly suppressed. Most certainly it has never been heard of before, or made any public appearance until now. The survival of such a leaf of legislation from that day to this, in one solitary printed copy, so far from supporting or being supported by the Salem manuscript, bears in itself the same damaging evidence of incompleteness, and provokes the same criticisms. It must be regarded as an imperfect and unsuccessful attempt to satisfy the claim for redress, which had been stumbling and halting through several years of hesitation between justice and expediency, and fell still-born into the hands of the thrifty clerk of the Salem courts, who became attorney for the poor and scattered members and representatives of those families which had been ruined in the diabolical storm of 1692.

The doubt is sufficient in my judgment to warrant the most sceptical criticism of the act itself as it appears in print, and the most careful scrutiny of every item of support that is

claimed for it. It is proper to repeat here that this newly discovered "printed act . . . which is believed to be unique," is the *only new evidence* in the case. The copy which is on the court files at Salem, printed by Mr. Woodward in 1864, was, and is, just as well fortified by the record as this printed copy of 1713, now first produced; and nothing is yet brought to support the genuineness of the latter, which is not equally conclusive in favor of the old manuscript.

Mr. Goodell says, however, that "the record shows that Dudley consented to the report of the committee, . . . and as this report supplied all that was wanting to make the bill, *which had passed the several stages of legislation*, complete," etc., the Secretary in making up his records might have regarded such record of consent as sufficient for the bill as well as the report.

Now the fact is, that the report was accepted in the House of Representatives on the 23d of October, 1711, and the Council concurred on the 26th, when the Governor also consented to it.

The act, however, for reversing the attainders, so far from having already "passed the several stages of legislation," had been slumbering quietly somewhere for a year and a half, and had not even been revived in that General Court before the report had become a law. Then, on the next day, Oct. 27, 1711, its long rest was disturbed, and the act was produced, read, and passed to be engrossed. But although thus hastily revived, it did not pass the stage of legislation necessary to make it "complete and ready for the executive approval" until November 2, one day less than a week after the approval of the report, so that it is not at all likely that the Secretary could have been mistaken or misled, or otherwise failed in his duty in the fashion suggested. The presumption here is in favor of that officer: *Omnia presumuntur rite ac sollemniter acta*.

Mr. Goodell goes on to say: "This act having been passed and the required sum appropriated, a warrant, in due form, for drawing the same from the treasury, was issued by the Secretary and signed by the Governor, Dec. 17, 1711."

In this proceeding there was not the slightest reference to "this act," in any stage of it; but on the contrary the warrant itself expressly refers to the report of the committee accepted

by the General Assembly as its foundation and authority. We ask in vain, why was the act thus ignored? Why was it that an act was not drawn embracing all the recommendations of the committee, and furnishing a clear and unmistakable restoration, by the reversal of all the attainders and award of damages by authority of express enactment in the usual form?

Mr. Goodell adduces as further evidence that "the act became a law . . . the declaration to that effect of those who united in appointing Stephen Sewall to collect the compensation awarded to them by the committee, in 1711, and also their request that he procure a copy of the act."

The so-called "declaration to that effect" is that they "are informed" of the passage of "an act in favour of us respecting our Reputations and Estates;" and they authorize and request their attorney (Sewall), who was probably the informer, to procure "a copy of the said act" and "receive what was allowed." The only act which answers this description is the "report." Neither the act now produced nor the manuscript draft of the act preserved in the Salem court files has any provision or provisions "in favour of" the sufferers or their representatives "respecting their Estates;" and nearly one half of those who signed the power of attorney soon discovered that whatever the action of the legislature had been, it was of no use or benefit to them.

The wretched remnants of these poor families were unquestionably much more deeply interested in their "Estates" than their "Reputations," as affected by the action of the legislature; and the request for the "copy of the act" was probably a part of the apparatus of the attorney for the increase of *his* compensation, — certainly not of their allowances.

Mr. Goodell further calls attention to two distinct contemporaneous references to this act. Samuel Wardwell addressed a petition to the Committee of Distribution sitting at Salem, Feb. 19, 1712, representing that his mother's name "is not inserted in the late Act of the Generall Court, for the taking off the Attainder," etc. He adds: "My mother being since deceased, I thought it my duty to endeavour that her name may have the benefit of that Act. I therefore humbly pray your Honours to Represent this case to the Honourable Gen^l Court, that my mother's name may be inserted in the

said Act.”¹ He also desires further remuneration for losses and expenses by reason of the proceedings against his father and mother.²

Elizabeth Johnson, Jr., also presented a petition to the same committee, in which there are allusions to an “Act lately made by the General Court for taking off the Attainder,” in which her name was not inserted. “Being very desirous of the favour of that Act,” she also prayed the committee to represent her case to the General Court at their next session, that her name might be inserted in the act, and also that the Honorable Court would make her some allowance, etc.

Both these petitions have the same date of Feb. 19, 1712, — the date of meeting of the Committee of Distribution at Salem, at which, and perhaps by which, they appear to have been suggested; and both refer to an act, as though incomplete, to which they desired additions. Their advisers, Sewall their attorney and the minister of Andover, in whose handwriting both petitions are said to be, certainly could not have suggested such modifications of, or additions to, a statute which was already a law of the land. Although their clients may have been as stupid and worthless as Calef and Hutchinson (probably following Calef) represent them,³ neither Sewall nor the Andover minister was likely to blunder in that fashion.

And these are all the references which I can hear of or discover made by contemporaries or anybody else until the recent historians adopted the Salem manuscript as a genuine law of the Province, and followed each other blindly without any apparent critical examination whatever. They are all that have been produced or can be found, so far, as contemporaneous testimony to support the allegation that the bill became a law. They are also the only notices of any such legislation which have been found in all the history and materials of

¹ It is somewhat remarkable that this man was ignorant of the fact that his mother's name had received the benefit of the previous act of 1703.

² Records of Salem Witchcraft; vol. ii. pp. 241-421.

³ Calef says of Mary Post and Elizabeth Johnson, Jr., that they were (“as appears by their behaviour) the most senseless and ignorant creatures that could be found.” (p. 141.) Wardwell, the other petitioner, does not seem to have been any wiser. Hutchinson (vol. ii. p. 60) speaks of Post, Johnson, Jr., and Wardwell as “three of the worst characters,” etc.

history of Massachusetts from that day forward for more than a century.

Now these references, so far from establishing the completeness of the law, prove the contrary, and sustain the view which I have taken,—that it was unsatisfactory and incomplete. It may have been arrested at the stage in which the record leaves it, expressly because it was seen and known to be imperfect,—one third of the sufferers not mentioned at all, some restored a second time, names omitted, etc. In this view alone these petitions of Wardwell and Johnson become intelligible,—that as for several years before the matter had been taken up and then “allowed to subside,” in alternate fits of progress and delay, there was still an opportunity for inserting names in a future revision before the bill should become a law; and when the subject might be again before the legislature, it was hoped that further provision would be made in the way of remuneration.

In style and method, and literary treatment altogether, this act is without any parallel which I am able to recall in the legislation of Massachusetts or any other government. It is slovenly and inaccurate. Two places are left blank where the name of the wife of poor Giles Corey should appear twice, although it is correctly given in the same report of the committee from which the list is said to have been copied into the act, so that the negligence with which Mr. Goodell taxes the Committee of Award and Distribution—with justice, no doubt—must also be charged upon the authors of this bill in the legislature. It would be easy to multiply doubts suggested by its imperfections. These are such as greatly impair its substance and value as compared with its originally avowed purpose. It is imperfect, it is insufficient, notwithstanding its prolonged delays in preparation and postponements of action; in short, it is just such a bill as I should not expect Joseph Dudley to approve or consent to,—not only a Governor, but a Chief Justice who had experienced a review of his own doings in New York when Jacob Leisler’s attainder was reversed by an act of Parliament (the only authority competent to pass such a law),—an act which has some features in common with that under discussion,—the historical preamble being untrue, and the reversal of the attainder of no value except as a motive and makeweight towards a

liberal indemnity to be sought from a subsequent New York legislature.

I have alluded to the Parliament of Great Britain as the only authority in all the British Dominions competent to pass a law reversing an attainder. This was not only the fact, but the mode of procedure always required that the royal assent should be previously obtained.¹ The exceptional character of bills for restitution of honors and blood has always been notable in parliamentary law. They are to this day first signed by the Queen, and are presented by a lord to the House of Peers by command of the crown, after which they pass through the ordinary stages and are sent to the Commons. Here the Queen's consent must be signified before the first reading; and if this form be overlooked all the proceedings will be null and void. After the second reading, the bill is committed to several members specially nominated, with "all the members of the House who are of her Majesty's most honorable privy council, and all the gentlemen of the long robe." Such bills receive the royal assent in the usual form, as public bills.² The "laws of England" in the tenth year of the reign of Queen Anne were certainly no less stringent than in these later years of Queen Victoria; and I think it would have puzzled the authorities of Massachusetts in 1711 to conceal, explain, or justify the manifest "repugnancy" of such an act as the one in question to English laws and English ways of making and administering them.

In the forms of procedure the doings of the Great and General Court were largely modelled upon those of the imperial legislature; and curious parallels may be discerned between the grand councils of the realm, organized and conducted at Westminster with all the pomp and ceremony befitting the representation of an ancient monarchy, and those of their humbler imitators on the edge of the Western Continent, between the forests and the sea.

Half a century later than the period to which our discussion refers, with the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, and the Boston Port Bill almost in view before them, the Massachusetts

¹ Hatsell's *Precedents*, vol. iii. p. 337. "The purport of some bills must necessarily be communicated to the king, even before they are presented; as bills for the reversal of attainders," etc.

² May's *Law of Parliament*, 8th ed., pp. 832, 833, and authorities cited.

House of Representatives declared: "We shall at all Times think it our highest Honor and Happiness to make the Proceedings of the British Parliament our Example."¹

I am not aware that any attempts were made by other colonies or provinces of Great Britain to pass acts to reverse attainders, — a proceeding which involved so direct an invasion of the prerogatives of king and Parliament² that even Massachusetts might have hesitated. It is measurably certain that neither the act of 1703 nor this alleged act of 1711 ever came under the notice of the Privy Council; for any knowledge of either of them would surely have commanded the attention of the crown lawyers, and elicited prompt and emphatic disapproval.³

Of course the fact that the General Court of Massachusetts had no right to pass such an act is no evidence that they refrained from the attempt; but Dudley must have known what were the methods and precedents of the law of England and practice of Parliament; and although he signed the act of 1703, he had an opportunity to be reminded of his duty as a servant of the crown between that year and 1711. I have already alluded to his connection with the judicial murders of Leisler and Milborne at New York in 1691. The attainder of Leisler was reversed, with all these customary formalities closely and minutely observed, in 1695. Dudley himself was at that time in London, and one of the witnesses in the examinations by the Parliamentary Committee.

When under a new governor in New York the Leisler

¹ Journal: 1762-63, p. 144.

² "Not even the king's pardon can restore or purify the blood; nothing but the high and transcendent power of Parliament." — *Blackstone*, bk. iv. cap. 31.

³ An instance of the assertion of the royal prerogative in Massachusetts occurred in 1725 upon occasion of an attempt to promote a synod or assembly of the clergy. It was regarded as certain, in point of law, that the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, being a branch of the prerogative, took place in the Province, and that synods could not be held, nor was it lawful for the clergy to assemble as in a synod, without the royal license. The application, therefore, to the General Court which was then made was declared by the crown lawyers to be a contempt of his Majesty's prerogative, and the Lieutenant-Governor was rebuked for his failure to withstand and reject it instead of subscribing his consent as he had done. He was further directed to signify to those who had been active in the design that such an assembly was against law, and they should forbear to meet, on penalty of prosecution, by information, for a misdemeanor. The synod was not held. *Chalmers's Opinions*, vol. i. p. 12. Cf. *Hutchinson*, vol. ii. pp. 322, 323.

party gained the ascendancy, they signalized their revenge by turning the tables on their opponents, and new state trials resulted in the condemnation of Colonel Nicholas Bayard and Alderman John Hutchins to the same punishment which had been inflicted on Leisler and Milborne. They escaped the penalties, however, to which they had been exposed; and in 1703 the legislature of the Colony dealt with the case in a fashion which might well have furnished instruction to Dudley. So far from attempting to reverse attainders by the act of a colonial legislature, they passed an act declaring the illegality of the proceedings against Bayard and Hutchins, and did not even presume to do that without the permission of the crown duly signified, as it is recited in the act, viz. :—

“Which matters having been fully heard and Examined before Her Most Sacred Majesty in Council at the Court at *St. James's* the 24th Day of January, 1702, upon Consideration thereof, Her Majesty being sensible of the Undue and Illegal Proceedings against the said *Bayard* and *Hutchins*, was then most graciously pleased in Her Royal Justice and Bounty, to order that her Attorney General here should be directed to consent to the Reversing those Sentences, and to whatever else may be requisite in the Law for the Re-instating the said Bayard and Hutchins in their Honour and Property, as if no such Prosecution had been.”¹

Let us consider further the construction and contents of the bill in question. It affirms as a fact that in 1692 “several towns within this Province were infested with a horrible Witchcraft or Possession of Devils,” and makes a very emphatic and significant record of the reason why after a time a stop was put to the prosecutions, in the statement of a great dissatisfaction when they reached “Persons of known and good reputation.” They then thought it necessary to appeal to their Majesties the King and Queen. Their victims had no chance to appeal, and their only ground of appeal was from the probable consequences of their own madness and folly. The result of that representation is stated to have been a letter from Queen Mary the Second, bearing date the 15th of April, 1693, the terms of which as given might with justice be regarded as a supplement to the famous “Advice of the

¹ Act of 19th June, 1703, MS.

Ministers" ¹ while the delusion was raging, and would have been of precious little value to those who were accused if the storm of this tyranny and wickedness had not already been long overpast.

The preamblers go on to say, as the last of their incoherent and rambling apology, that "some of the Principal Accusers and Witnesses in those dark and severe Prosecutions have since discovered themselves to be Persons of Profligate and Vicious Conversation." The fact that they were so was perfectly well known from the beginning. They were the "vile varlets" of whom Robert Calef pungently reminded the champions of the witchcraft delusion when he so courageously encountered the wrathful indignation and unparalleled abuse of the great protagonist of that fearful drama, — Cotton Mather.²

In accordance with the report of the committee, as I have already stated it, the enactment provided for the reversal of the attainders against twenty-two of the sufferers, omitting nine of them, of whom two had been relieved by the act of 1703, so that seven still remained attaint, apparently, though of course not in fact, liable to the pains and penalties to which they had been condemned. One who had been relieved by the act of 1703 was also included in this act. As all the survivors had been pardoned by the Governor, the statement in the act that they were "lying still under the like Sentence of the said

¹ This "Advice of the Ministers" was upon inquiry about the matter of spectral evidence. It was artfully framed to turn the edge of avowed opposition to the use of so dangerous an instrument of conviction. It was eminently jesuitical; and its positive direction was to approve and justify all that had been done, and stimulate the actors to the zealous prosecution of their deadly work. There is an interesting volume in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which has been neglected, although well deserving attention. It is a copy of Cotton Mather's "Magnalia," with manuscript notes by his brother, the Rev. Samuel Mather, of Witney, Oxfordshire, England, who graduated at Harvard in 1690. It was apparently intended for an abridgment of the work and publication as such. Samuel Mather having been "on the spot when these things were transacted," — that is, present in Massachusetts at the time of the Salem witchcraft proceedings, his summary of them, though concise, is very valuable. He regarded the evidence for some of the prodigies as being so conclusive that one might as well doubt the existence of such a province as New England. He attributes the interruption of the proceedings to Governor Phips, saying: "*Sir William perceiving that spectral evidence was not to be credited, a stop was put to sanguinary measures.*"

² Calef, Preface, p. vi.

Court and liable to have the same Executed upon them " was simply false.

By far the most important provision of the whole act, and in fact the only one which would have been of any substantial value to anybody, was the concluding paragraph, by which all the officials of every grade who had been concerned in these outrages got their *quietus* and protection against "prosecution in the law."

We come now to the document itself, — the actual printed paper.¹ It is a single leaf, and to the practised eye, familiar with the fashion of printing the laws in those days, it presents every external aspect of genuineness. Indeed, I find it difficult to doubt that it was printed with the types of Bartholomew Green, and ornamented at the head with his new cut of the Royal Arms, which replaced its old, worn-out predecessor in that very year (1713).

But the black-letter type on the left — the next thing which strikes the eye — presents an uncommon appearance, both in the words and in the arrangement. It would be difficult to show anything like it in any other page-heading among all the laws in print. It was not customary to use those words, "Province of the Massachusetts Bay," before the general title, caption, or session heading which always preceded the titles of the several acts, whether one or more. The use of the black letter in the words "New England," "Boston," and "October" is also unusual. They were always in italics in the regular issues from that press. The date, too, of the day of meeting is given in Arabic numerals, which in the regular issues was always printed out in full Roman letters, e.g. "seventeenth," not "17th."

And here we reach the point of demonstration which not only justifies the suspicions already hinted at, but proves conclusively that this paper was printed not only for a purpose apart from the usual order and method of printing the laws, but also under the direction of some one not familiar with the routine of the office and ignorant of the details of the authorized official work of that press. The caption, which sets forth the authority of what is to follow, reads thus : —

¹ See the accompanying fac-simile of the "Act of 1711," which the great kindness of Mr. Goodell enables me to present with this paper.

The Influence and Energy of the Evil Spirits, so great at that time acting in, and upon those who were the Principal Accusers and Witnesses, proceeding so far as to cause a Prosecution to be had of Persons of known and good Reputation, which caused a great Dissatisfaction and a Stop to be put thereunto, until Their Majesties Pleasure should be known therein.

And upon a Representation thereof accordingly made, Her late Majesty Queen *M A RY* the Second, of blessed Memory, by Her Royal Letter given at Her Court at *Whitehall* the Fifteenth of *April* 1693, was Graciously pleased to approve the Care and Circumspection therein; and to Will and Require that in all proceedings against Persons Accused for Witchcraft, or being Possessed by the Devil, the greatest Moderation, and all due Circumspection be Used, so far as the same may be without Impediment to the ordinary Course of Justice.

And some of the Principal Accusers and Witnesses in those dark and severe Prosecutions have since discovered themselves to be Persons of Profligate and Vicious Conversation.

Upon the Representation and Suit of several of the said Persons, and of the Children of others of them whose Parents were Executed,

Be it Declared and Enacted by His Excellency the Governour, Council and Assemblies, in General Court assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the several Convictions, Judgments and Attainders against the said *George Burroughs, John Procter, George Jacob, John Willard, Giles Core, and Carr, Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Good, Elizabeth How, Mary Bellet, Sarah Wild, Abigail Hobbs, Samuel Wardell, Mary Parker, Martha Carrier, Abigail Faulkner, Anne Foster, Rebecca Eames, Mary Pegg, Mary Lacey, Mary Bradbury and Dorcas Hoag*, and every of them, Be and hereby are Reversed, Made and Declared to be Null and Void to all Intents, Constructions and Purposes whatsoever, as if no such Convictions, Judgments or Attainders had ever been had or given. And that no Penalties or Forfeitures of Goods or Chattels be by the said Judgments and Attainders, or either of them had or incurred.

Any Law, Usage or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that the Sheriff, Constable, Gaoler, or other Officer shall be liable to any Prosecution in the Law for any thing they then Legally did in the Execution of their respective Offices.

Regni ANNAE Reginae Decimo.



Province of the
Massachusetts-Bay.

AN ACT.

Made and Passed by the Great and General Court of
Assembly of Her Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts
Bay in New-England, Held at Boston the 17th
Day of October, 1711.

Not Recorded

An Act to Reverse the Attainders of
George Burroughs and others for Witchcraft.

FORASMUCH as in the Year of our Lord One Thousand
Six Hundred Ninety Two, Several Towns within this Pro-
vince were Infested with a horrible Witchcraft or Possession
of Devils; And at a special Court of Oyer and Terminer
holden at Salem, in the County of Essex, in the same Year
One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety Two, George Burroughs of Wells,
John Procter, George Jacobs, John Willard, Giles Core, and
McWife, Rebecca Nurse, and Sarah Good, all of Salem aforesaid;
Elizabeth Hox of Ipswich, Mary Eastey, Sarah Wild and Abi-
gail Hobbs all of Ipsfeld: Samuel Wardell, Mary Parker,
Martha Carrier, Abigail Falkner, Anne Foster, Rebecca Farnes,
Mary Post, and Mary Lacey, all of Andover: Mary Bradbury
of Salisbury: and Dorcas Hoar of Beverly: Were severally In-
dicted, Convicted and Attained of Witchcraft, and some of them put
to Death, Others lying still under the like Sentence of the said Court,
and liable to have the same Executed upon them.

A

the

“AN ACT, Made and Passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly of Her Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, Held at Boston the 17th day of October, 1711.”

The usual form would have been as follows:—

“AN ACT, passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly of Her Majesties Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New England*: Begun and Held at *Boston* upon *Wednesday* the Thirtieth Day of May, 1711. And continued by several Prorogations and Adjournments unto *Wednesday*, the Seventeenth of *October* following, and then met.”

In the first the words “Made and” before “Passed” are not to be found in the caption of any contemporary publication of any other act, nor indeed in that of any publication of any other act or acts during the entire provincial period. I doubt whether it can be found in that of any copy of any act anywhere, excepting in the manuscript from which it was taken, to which I shall shortly refer again. The word “Majesty's” is correctly spelled, which had never been done before in the caption of any printed act of the Province of Massachusetts; for it was invariably spelled “Majesties” throughout the whole of the reign of Queen Anne, having been continued from the time of William and Mary and William III. without any alteration of this unmistakable tradition of Bartholomew Green's types until 1715, when the accession of George I. compelling the change of “Her” to “His” may have challenged the attention of the Secretary or the printer to the plural possessive. Even then it was not without difficulty that the new way finally triumphed. However this may have been, the fact is obvious that neither Mr. Secretary Addington nor Mr. Printer Green prepared the copy or read or revised the proof of the leaf before us. This is further shown by the remaining difference between the two captions, which is even more remarkable than those already mentioned. The regular official form invariably set forth the beginning of the Court, as well as its continuance, when the act or acts were of any other meeting or session than the first. In this case no notice is taken of either beginning or continuance of the Court, but the statement relates solely to the holding of what was in fact

the fifth session, with date of its beginning alone,—the session during which the act is alleged to have been passed.

I have already pointed out the fatal defects in the Salem manuscript which deprive it of authority as a sufficient record or copy of a record. A comparison of this printed paper with that manuscript will show that they are almost identical, and must stand or fall together. The manuscript furnished the text for the printer. No man can trace any other original.

Whoever procured the printing of this act, and whatever may have been the motive for it, it is apparent that either there was no application to the proper officer for an authorized copy of record, or if one was made, that it was unsuccessful. No legitimate beneficiary under such a law, wishing to publish it or avail himself of its provisions, would have failed to secure an exemplified copy; and the act itself, even if not technically a public act,¹ covered too many interests and would have commanded too wide an extent of public sympathy to have been forgotten. The inferences are obvious. There was no such law in the Secretary's office. The printing of this paper was surreptitious. The conclusion is irresistible. No such act became a law in 1711.

But there is a still more important argument to be noticed against the possible existence of this alleged law. It does not appear to have been known to anybody, even those who were most interested in the subject, until a comparatively recent period. Hutchinson, your great historian, evidently knew nothing whatever of the existence of any such law, although he was well acquainted with and mentions in his *History*² the "grants made for and in consideration of the losses sustained," etc., in the same year (1711), shown by the record preserved in the report of the Committee of Awards, with which we are now familiar.

The extracts printed in the Appendix to my Notes, etc., of proceedings in various years down to 1750, militate strongly against the genuineness of the act. I found no allusion to it in any of the petitions or legislative action thereon from the time when Philip English made his demand for redress in 1717 onward.

¹ If this act was a public act, my position is firmly sustained by the fact that it was not printed at the time with the other public acts of the same session.

² Vol. ii. p. 62, note.

In 1737, when the Rev. Israel Loring, pastor of a church in Sudbury, preached the Election Sermon, he revived the subject with great boldness and vigor, insisting on the duty of that generation in the matter : —

“Now,” said he, “though the loss of Parents cannot be made up to their surviving Posterity, yet their Estates may ; And *the Question is* (if it be not beyond all Question) *whether a Restitution is not due from the Publick to them*, and we are not bound in Justice to make it. *Hereby Infamy may be taken off from the Names and Memory of such as were Executed*, and who it may be did not in the least deserve it ; *as well as a Reparation made to their children for the injuries done them ; who remain to this day among us in mean, low, and abject circumstances.*”

When the House of Representatives initiated proceedings in the next year (1738), following the direction indicated by Loring’s strong advice, it does not appear that they knew anything about the act of 1711. If there ever was any such law of Massachusetts, the roll in parchment under the Province Seal must have been at that time in the Secretary’s office, in the same building in which their session was held ; but instead of calling for its production and having it laid on the table before them by the Secretary, that they might see for themselves “who was y^e sufferers,” they instituted a correspondence with the officials in charge of the Salem records. At the same time their doings indicate some knowledge of the previous grants of money, but not the slightest recollection of the formal legislation which we are now called upon to accept as complete and genuine.

Governor Belcher, in 1740, renewed the effort in an earnest speech, in which he declared to the legislature : “I really think there is something incumbent on this Government to be done, for *retrieving the Estates and Reputations of the Posterities of the unhappy Families that so suffered*,” etc.

The stirring appeal of Parson Loring and the emphatic official statement of Governor Belcher alike bear testimony against this act. They could not have been uttered by men who knew of the existence of such a law. Yet Loring was born in 1682, and graduated at Harvard College in 1701, and probably was never out of Massachusetts for any considerable time to the day of his death in 1772. Belcher, born a

year earlier (1681) and graduating two years earlier (1699), although absent in Europe for several years after leaving college, returned long before the agitation of the subject in the legislature, which is said to have resulted in the final enactment of the statute in question. Both were contemporaries, and could not have failed to be interested contemporaries, of the men and events of the witchcraft period itself and the following half-century. Their childhood was shadowed by the immediate traditions of the Devil and his works in Salem, and their manhood was haunted by the recollection of the sorrow and sufferings of the victims and their families. No man lived in Massachusetts from 1692 to 1750 who could have forgotten such a vindication of the witches, if it had ever been consummated.

That they did not forget is plainly shown by the language which I have quoted, and the fashion in which, after so many years of neglect and indifference, they demanded justice for the representatives of the victims of that infernal delusion,—that infamy might be taken off the names and memory of such as were executed,—that their reputations as well as their estates might be retrieved.

In the legislatures to which these appeals were addressed there were many, doubtless, who were old enough themselves to recall the thrilling incidents of the witchcraft period, and those assemblies were full of men familiar from personal knowledge or household traditions with everything which had been done, and especially much that had been proposed but not done,—a neglect which some of them evidently sought to amend. It is plain that these men did not think what had been done was sufficient, or that the aggregate of the appropriations of 1711 was an adequate compensation to the representatives of those who had suffered. They were not satisfied with what had been done. Doubtless there were great differences of opinion among the people. There must have been a powerful party in the legislature determined against further action. The struggle continued at intervals till the middle of the century, when, in 1750, the last recorded effort failed even to secure the attention of the committee to which it was referred. Mr. Goodell says of this committee: "It is not too harsh to say that it was their duty, in 1750, to report against reconsidering a claim which had been fairly settled, and the

reopening of which would have furnished a precedent for a general and formidable assault upon the Province treasury." But they do not appear to have made any such report or any other report, or even to have met for consideration of the matter. Although they were reminded of their duty by a resolution of the House of Representatives, months after their appointment, "directing them to sit forthwith, consider the petition to them committed, and report as soon as may be," I have not been able to learn that they did either sit, consider, or report, so that my friend's justification of their report may, without offence, be considered as superfluous.

The existence, then, of the alleged statute of 1711 remains to be proved. It is unnecessary to waste time in fruitless speculations about probabilities, or conjectures about things hidden or not revealed. "*De non apparentibus et non existentibus, eadem est ratio.*" Until some authority can be made to appear for the fact of completion of that law by due consent of the Governor, impress of the Province Seal, and formal publication, it cannot properly be said to have existed at any time as a law, and its counterfeit presentment must be relegated to the *limbo* of imperfect legislation, or that historical house of correction which, we are told, is paved with good intentions.

Let the cabinet in which its remains may be preserved bear the inscription, *Tantum non lex—requiescat.*

It remains for you, Gentlemen, who are surrounded by the materials out of which must come the final determination of this and all other doubtful questions in the history of Massachusetts, to stretch forth your hands and set them fitly in order, with authority that all shall recognize and none may gainsay; so that we whose dwellings are remote from these sacred and perennial fountains, may come up from time to time out of the lands of the Gentiles, by the coasts beyond Jordan, slake our thirst without doubt or misgiving, and go our way rejoicing.

*Boston Public Library
from the Editor*

10

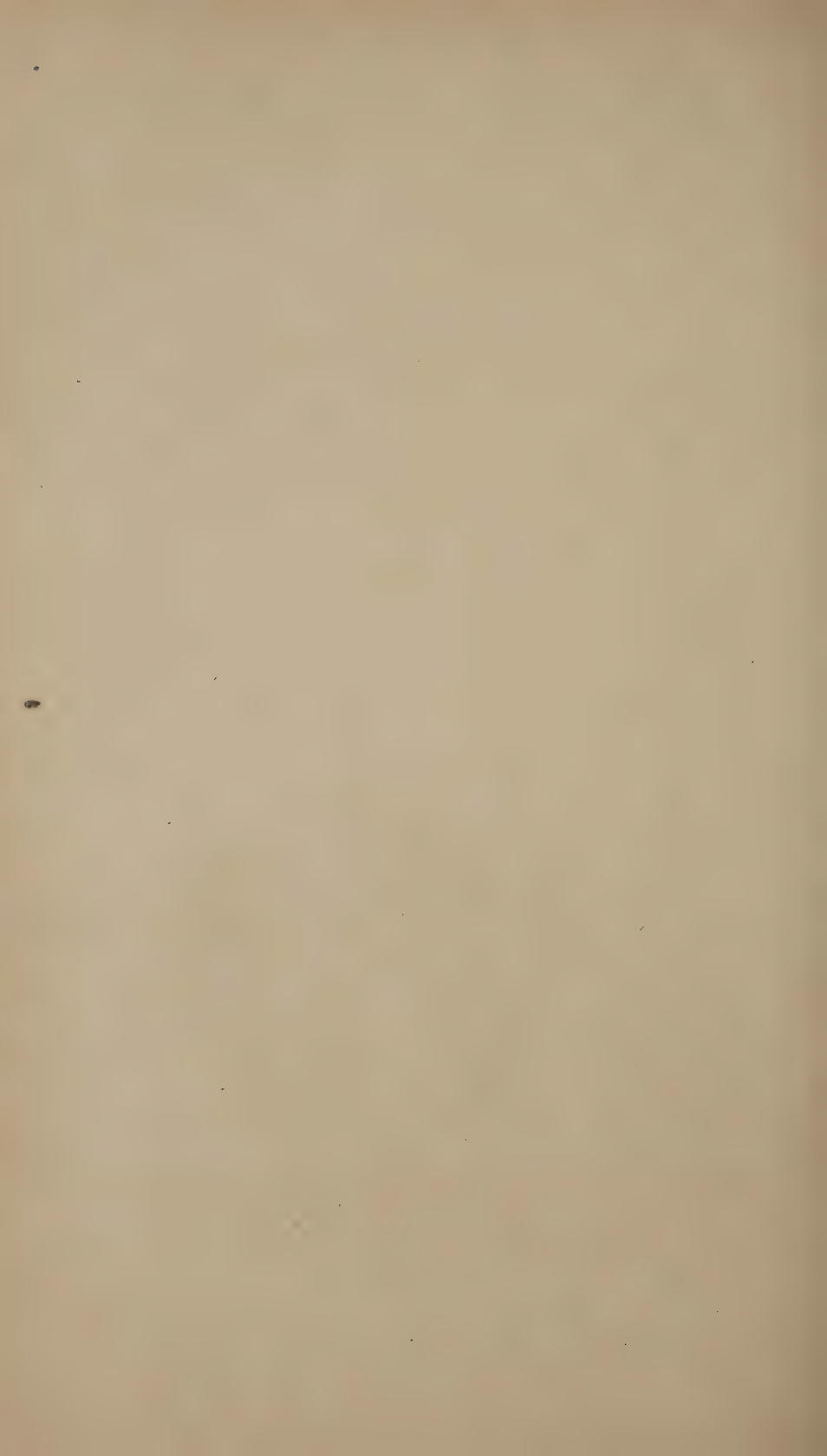
LETTER OF ERASMUS RASK

TO

HENRY WHEATON.



REPRINTED FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR APRIL, 1880.



10

Mr. G. DEXTER communicated a letter from Professor Erasmus Rask to the Hon. Henry Wheaton, saying : —

I have found lately among some papers of the late Henry Wheaton, for many years the diplomatic representative of this country at the courts of Copenhagen and Berlin, an interesting letter written to him in 1831 by Erasmus Rask on the subject of the discovery of America by the Northmen. Mr. Rask is recognized as one of the great philological scholars of his time, and he was particularly well acquainted with the Icelandic language and literature, on which he wrote several treatises. Mr. Wheaton, at the date of this letter, had just published in London his history of the Northmen. He had made due mention in this of their visits to America, and as it was a matter in which he took great interest, he was now perhaps seeking more information from his friend.

I do not forget that this letter of Mr. Rask was written before the publication of Professor Rafn's great work, the "*Antiquitates Americanæ*," which appeared in 1837. Nor am I unaware that Mr. Wheaton himself, in the French trans-

* Westfield was incorporated as a town in 1669, but the church was not gathered until 27 August, 1679, at which time a council assembled, and Mr. Taylor was ordained pastor, nearly eight years after he began his ministrations. See "*The Westfield Jubilee*," pp. 181, 185. Mr. Taylor's tomb is in the old town burying-ground, and a marble memorial slab has been placed in the First Congregational Church. — Eps.

lation of his history, published in 1844, which was substantially a revised edition of the original work, adopted Mr. Rafn's views.*

But the "*Antiquitates Americanæ*" was as it were a new departure in these Northern studies. For the first time the sagas were given to the world, carefully edited and translated into a language read by the learned of all countries. The completeness and splendor of the manner of publication of the book, the ability of the editors, and, above all, their earnest enthusiasm, seemed to carry all before them for a time. Nearly every one was disposed to accept the narratives of the sagas, and to agree with the plausibly argued conclusions of the Danish editors. There was perhaps also a feeling of patriotic pride among the Northern scholars, that their ancestors had preceded Columbus in the discovery of the new world. Certainly no attempt was made in Denmark to refute Rafn's arguments, and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at once appointed a committee on the ante-Columbian discovery of America, and established an American section of the Museum, in which supposed traces of the Northmen's visits were to be preserved.

To-day, however, while the visits of these Northmen to some parts of the American continent are perhaps generally admitted by careful historians, scholars have grown very cautious in accepting the details of the narratives, and reluctant to receive Professor Rafn's identification of the places visited by Leif and Thorvald.

Dighton Rock and the old mill at Newport, on which so much argument was built, have been abandoned. There exist no known works of the Northmen in the United States. Mr. Schoolcraft and Dr. Palfrey have settled that point. The lapse of forty years since the appearance of Mr. Rafn's labors has made it evident also that another of his conclusions may be doubted. He and his coadjutor, Professor Finn Magnusen, have endeavored in learned arguments to show that the precise latitude of "*Leifsbúdir*" can be deduced from the statement in the saga of the length of the winter's day. The testimony of the exact scholar whose letter I have brought

* Mr. Paul Guilloit, the translator of Mr. Wheaton's history, calls his book on the titlepage, "*édition revue et augmentée par l'auteur, avec cartes, inscriptions, et alphabet runiques.*" And in his preface he states that the book is "*moins une traduction qu'une nouvelle édition, enrichi des notes et des recherches que l'auteur réservait pour une seconde publication.*" An appendix of new matter, of about one hundred pages, is taken from Rafn's "*Antiquitates Americanæ.*" The summary of Finn Magnusen's argument about the length of the winter day is given on p. 33 n.

here to-day may be of value on that point. And I may recall the fact that Mr. Gudbrand Vigfussen, the editor of Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary, the latest authority, states that the editor of the "*Antiquitates Americanæ*" is mistaken in this matter.

Mr. Rask's letter, admirably expressed when we remember that he writes in a tongue not his native one, is as follows:—

KØBENHAVN, d^{br}. 29 Dec., 1831.

The fact of the Icelanders and Greenlanders visiting North America, which they called *Wineland the Good* (in comparison with Iceland and Greenland), is beyond any doubt. It is mentioned *obiter*:—

1. In the *Landnámabok*, twice (pp. 133, 219, 220). This is one of the best-authenticated sagas existing, published from parchment codices.

2. In the new edition of Olaf Tryggvason's saga, published also from parchment (manuscript), vol. ii. p. 246, equally *obiter*, and just on that behalf the surer. A specimen of the very respectable chief codex is to be seen in the Olaf the Saint's saga, which is printed from the same.

3. *Eyrbyggja-saga*, p. 252, is also spoken of *Vinland hit góða*, briefly indeed, but very much corroborating the other accounts. There is in this place related a battle between the Northmen and the Eskimoes (*Skrælingjar*), in which a person fell whose history is related in the saga, the author speaking no wise else in that place of Vinland. This saga is also one of the most creditable, though but indifferently published; it exists, at least partly, on parchment.

4. Snorre Sturleson in his celebrated *Heimskringla*, vol. i. p. 303, mentions *obiter* the discovery of *Vinland hit góða*, made by Leif Erikson from Greenland. This chapter contains the genuine words of Snorre himself, and exists on parchment, as well as in the other transcripts, as may be seen, *i. e.*, in the various readings. The detailed relation, inserted from other sources, begins on the next page (304), as is fairly stated in the note relating to the beginning of chapter 105.

5. Are-fróde in his *Islendingabók* or schedæ, chap. vi. (p. 9 in the new octavo edition of *Islendingasögur*, vol. i.), mentions also *Vinland*, *obiter*, as a country well known. When the Icelanders discovered Greenland, they found both on the eastern and western coast traces (dwellings) of "men of the same race," he says, "as inhabits Vinland, and is called *Skrælingjar* by the (Scandinavian, northern) Greenlanders."

The whole discovery, or several expeditions to Vinland, is described:—

1. In the celebrated *Flateybook*, where it is inserted in the saga of Olaf Tryggvason. From a bad transcript of this it was published first by Peringsköld in his edition of *Heimskringla*, and afterward by the Danish editors.

2. In Erik the Red's saga the discovery is spoken of, chap. v. (in my manuscript copy); and another expedition from Greenland to Vinland is detailed, chap. vii. *et seq.* In this expedition was discovered some interjacent countries: 1. *Helluland*, twenty-four hours' journey from Greenland; then, two days' journey farther, with north wind, *Markland*,* and an island *Bjarney*, &c.; twenty-four hours farther, *Straumsey* and *Straumsfjörðr*, &c. At last the battle with the natives, in which the Icelfander fell who is spoken of in Eyrbyggja-saga, is described in the ninth and last chapter. This saga appears to be somewhat fabulous, viz., written long time after the event, and taken from tradition.

3. Thorfinn Karlsefnes-saga is the story of the chief hero who went to Wineland the Good. It exists on one or two very old and most excellent parchment codices. The two last mentioned are not published.

It is remarkable that besides of *Vinland* there is an old tradition of another extensive country in the west, called *Heitra-manna-land* (White men's land), or Ireland the Great (*vaste*), *Irland hit mikla*. In the first place of Landnámabók quoted above, it is spoken of as situated right west of Ireland, and not far from Vinland the Good.† The people were civilized and Christians (it seems) before the Icelfanders. Of course, I mean Irishmen or Welshmen, rather the first mentioned, as they also had begun to people the southern parts of Iceland before the arrival of the Northmen (according to Are-frode, Landnámabók, &c.). This country is also mentioned in the last chapter of Eyrbyggja, in Eriksraða-saga, &c.

I think it tolerably clear in general that it was the country of Labrador, with the islands adjacent, and perhaps Nova Scotia, that were visited by the Northmen. *Straumsfjörðr*, I fancy, was the Bay of St. Lawrence, and that *Heitra-manna-land*, or *Irland hit mikla*, was the northern parts, or the whole then known of the United States, where the Irish or Welsh colonies have been afterward destroyed by the natives, or lost among them, just like the Icelandic colonies in Greenland.

But to ascertain exactly the places meant by the names of *Helluland*, *Markland*, *Straumsey*, and *Vinland*, is next to impossibility until the text of Eriksraða-saga and Thorfinn Karlsefnes-saga shall be published critically in the work of Professors Magnúsen and Rafn, with Latin translations. Then, I fancy, a person who knows the natural appearance of the coast of Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, &c., will be able to ascertain the places tolerably correctly from the descrip-

* Because it was covered "with wood" (isld. mörn, *silva*, non danish Mark, *campus*). — Marginal note of Mr. Rask.

† Some captivated children from Vinland state it situated right against their native country (on the southern banks of the St. Lawrence?), and that the inhabitants wore *white* dresses; but I would rather derive the name from the complexion of the Europeans, so that *Heitra-manna-land* would be the country occupied by Europeans; and, supposed these were Irishmen, it would be perfectly synonymous with *Irland hit mikla*. — Marginal note of Mr. Rask.

tions given of each of them in the sagas,—never from the length of the shortest day, it being liable to so different interpretations. Our ancestors did not divide the day into twelve hours, but into four *eykts*, each of three hours. *Hádegi* (high day) was twelve o'clock; *nón* (or in ancient times, *undorn*) was three o'clock (*hora nona*); *miðr-aptan*, six o'clock; *náttmál*, nine o'clock; *miðnætt*, twelve o'clock (or midnight); *óttá* (whence *óttasaungr*), three in the morning; *miðr morgun*, six o'clock; *dagmál*, nine o'clock. But now the question is whether midday, for instance, was in the very beginning of the *eykt* called *hádegi*, or in the middle, or even end of it. The two first-mentioned modes of reckoning have prevailed in Iceland till of late, but who shall tell us which of the three possible modes has been intended by the author in question? Besides, this author is not published critically from the *membrana*, — does not say how many *eyktir* the shortest day had, but at what time the sun did set and rise. However, I think that not easily any better explanation of the passage alluded to shall be found than that of Torfaeus, given at the end of his *Vinlandia*, — at least not before the texts of these relations shall be published. As my time does not permit me to enter into any examination of the manuscripts, being partly preserved in the Royal Library, I shall send you the work of Torfaeus, which contains much curious information about those regions.

From this you will see that even *Adamus Bremensis* mentions Vinland as the utmost inhabitable country in the world, beyond Iceland and Greenland, only he seems to place it north of Greenland, in which he may have misunderstood King Svend Estridsen, from whom he derived his information, or even this [monarch?] may have been mistaken himself about that distant country, not occupied by any of the crowned heads of Europe.

I wish you a very happy New Year, sir, and have the honor to remain, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ERASMUS RASK.



Boston Pub. Library.

11

GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S MANUSCRIPT.

Manuscript for Dr. ...

GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S

MANUSCRIPT HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION,

AND

ITS TRANSMISSION TO OUR TIMES.

BY

JUSTIN WINSOR,

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Private Edition, — Seventy-five Copies.

REPRINTED FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
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1881.

THE BRADFORD MANUSCRIPT.

At a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held Nov. 10, 1881, Mr. WINSOR read the following paper:—

The original manuscript volume, in which Governor Bradford wrote his account of "Plimoth Plantation," was described, in 1855, by Mr. Joseph Hunter, of her Majesty's Record Office, as measuring 12×7 inches, with a binding of "white parchment, soiled and in no good condition." In this book the Governor began to write his narrative "about the year 1630, and so pieced up," as he says, "at times of leisure afterward,"—all being done in a singularly even and handsome hand. Mr. Deane has pointed out that the last paragraphs, bringing the story down to 1646, were written in 1650, and the manuscript bears indications that Bradford had intended continuing it. Seven years later he died, in 1657, and one of the notes in the volume traces its descent for half a century more.* It says that the Governor gave the book to his son, Major William Bradford, he to his son, Major John; and this record is made and signed, March 20, 1705, by Samuel Bradford.—probably the son of Major John, and, if so, then a young man of twenty-two. Meanwhile we know that Nathaniel Morton, a nephew of the Governor, who had come over in 1633, being a lad of eleven years, and had later become secretary of the colony, had used it in writing his "New England's Memorial," which was first printed in 1669. Morton speaks of his book as "something of the very first beginnings of the great action of God in New England, begun at New Plymouth: wherein the greatest part of my intelligence hath been borrowed from my much honored uncle, Mr. William Bradford, and such manuscripts as he left in his study,

* This note is given in Mr. Deane's preface to the History as printed by the Mass. Hist. Society.

from the year 1620 unto 1646, whom had God continued in this world some longer time, and given him rest from his other more important affairs, we might probably have had these things from [with] an abler pen, and better digested, than now you may expect."

Exception was taken by some of the Plymouth Church that Morton had in his "Memorial" been "too sparing and short" in what pertained to their ecclesiastical affairs, "the consideration whereof" he says, "put me on thought of recollecting something more particularly relating to the Church of Plymouth. Some time after the finishing of this work, I was solicited to lend it to a reverend friend at Boston, where it was burned in the first fire that was so destructive at Boston, in the year 1676 [to accept Dr. Young's correction of date from 1667]. Yet, notwithstanding I have crowded through many difficulties to achieve it the second time, and for that end did once again repair to the study of my much honored uncle, William Bradford, Esquire, deceased, for whose care and faithfulness in such like respects we stand bound . . . whose labors in such respect might fitly have been published to the world, had they not been involved in and amongst particulars of other nature."*

The first transcript thus referred to was doubtless lent to Increase Mather, and was destroyed in the fire which consumed his church, house, and part of his library; and it may be this transcript to which Mather refers in his "Relation of the Troubles which have hapned in New England," Boston, 1677, though from his language one would infer that he had had the original volume. He says, "Moreover, I have read a large manuscript of Governour Bradford's (written with his own hand), being expressive of what the first planters in this Countrey met with, whether from the heathen or otherwise, from the year 1620 to the year 1647." If the original underwent the ordeal of that fire of Nov. 27, 1676, it is not the least of the vicissitudes it has encountered. The dates given by Mather indicate strongly that he had the original, since Morton's transcript, as he made it a second time, ends in 1620, where Mather says Bradford's manuscript begins.

This repeated copy of Morton's, as it now stands on the Plymouth Church records, is dated at the end of a sort of preface of Morton's own writing, Jan. 13, 1680, and it contains some statements which Morton had not given in his "Memorial," eleven years before. It also omits, as we now

* Dr. Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 5, 6.

know, considerable parts of the original manuscript.* Morton has written in the margin at the beginning, "This was originally penned by Mr. William Bradford, Governor of New Plymouth." Notwithstanding this distinct statement, Ebenezer Hazard, when he printed the transcript, somewhat inaccurately, in his "Historical Collections," in 1792,† gave the authorship to Morton himself,—an error which seems to have been followed by Judge Davis and Mr. Bancroft; and even Dr. Thacher, in his "History of Plymouth" (1832), does not lead one to infer that he had any suspicion of its source, notwithstanding Morton makes another pretty clear admission of its origin in the following passage, which Hazard, however, did not print: "The immediate following relations in Mr. Bradford's book, out of which divers of these matters are re-collected, do more especially concern the conditions of their agreement with several merchant adventurers, . . . wherefore I shall here omit to insert them, judging them not so suitable to my present purpose."

A more careful scholar examined it, however, when Dr. Alexander Young discovered its connection with Bradford, and printed it as his, in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," in 1841. "The value of this document," said Dr. Young, when he had traced its origin, "depends upon its authorship, and cannot be overestimated. It takes precedence of every thing else relating to the Pilgrims, in time, authority, and interest."

There is also on the Plymouth Church records a memoir of Elder Brewster, which had long been known to be copied from a part of this Bradford manuscript, not only because it is in the hand of Morton, as the other passages are, but because Morton printed much of it in his "Memorial," and there distinctly ascribes it to Bradford's History. It is now found in the recovered manuscript.‡

Previous to the date of the note made by Samuel Bradford, the manuscript had likewise been used by William Hubbard, in writing his "History of New England," which so long remained unprinted; yet Prince§ says that Hubbard "fell into mistakes for want of Governor Bradford's History, and some other material." Again, Prince says, "By many passages in Mr. Hubbard, it appears he had never seen Governor Bradford's History, for want thereof he is sometimes in the dark." || In the recently recovered preface of Hubbard, he makes no

* Deane's Bradford, p. 80.

† Vol. i. p. 319.

‡ Deane's Bradford, p. 408.

§ Preface to his Chronological History.

|| Note, *sub anno* 1625.

mention of Bradford's manuscript, except so far as he may have had it in mind, when he writes of "original manuscripts of such as had the managing of those affairs under their hands, or were related by the very persons themselves concerned in them, being upon the place at the time when such things were transacted." Hazard, in copying from Hubbard, seems to have had no suspicion that Hubbard was indebted at all to Bradford. Dr. Young* has pointed out how Hubbard must have used the original, or possibly, in some parts, Morton's incomplete transcript of the manuscript. Mr. Deane comes to the same conclusion.†

It had again served a similar purpose with Cotton Mather, who left traces of his use of it in his "Magnalia," particularly in his account of Bradford.‡ Dr. Young, however, is of the opinion that Cotton Mather used Bradford as given at second hand in the Plymouth Church records.§ We do not again track it till 1728, when Thomas Prince called on Major John Bradford, in Kingston, and learned from him that he had lent the volume to Judge Sewall.|| Major Bradford now authorized Prince to receive the manuscript of Sewall, and to make use of it in his "Chronological History," which he did; and, June 4, 1728, Prince noted these circumstances on a blank leaf of the Bradford volume.¶ At the same time, Major John Bradford signified, as Prince records in the same place, his willingness to let Prince "lodge" the manuscript in the New England Library, which Prince was then gathering, "only y^t He might have the Perusal of it while he lived."

This last note was copied and sent to Mr. Deane, with a transcript of the Bradford volume, in 1855, and is printed in Mr. Deane's preface.** When this gentleman was at Fulham in 1866 he saw the manuscript, and then found that there was another note in Prince's hand on the opposite leaf, which had not been copied, and which stated that "Major Bradford tells me and assures me . . . that he would never Part with

* Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 58, 76, 78, 85.

† Bradford, p. 62.

‡ It was the statement by Mather that Bradford was born at *Austerfield*, that so long prevented the discovery of the precise spot of the Pilgrims' early abode. Hunter first showed it was *Austerfield*. Mather must also have had additional information.

§ Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 30.

|| From Prince's quoting "a manuscript note of Governor Bradford in the margin of Sir William Alexander's Description of New England, London, 1630," it would seem that possibly Prince got of Major John Bradford other books than this manuscript.

¶ Deane's preface to the History, p. xi.

** Page xi.

y^e Property, but would lend it to me and desired me to get it [of Sewall], which I did. I write down this so that Major Bradford and his Heirs may be known to be the Right owners.”* On the leaf which contains Prince’s note of June 4, 1728, the book-plate of the Prince Library is pasted, and as this plate is not filled out (supplementing the print) it is uncertain whether it was put in by Prince himself, or by his executors.† Whether it were a deliberate act of Prince, as indicating that the heirs of Bradford had given up their claims upon the manuscript, or merely an act of inadvertence of his own, or of his executors, when the pledge was not remembered or observed, — is a question that will not be easily determined, if the time should ever come for designating its rightful owners.

When Prince published the first volume of his “Chronological History,” in 1736, he said that next to the sacred history and that of the Reformation, he was from his early youth instructed in the history of this country, and that the first book put into his hands was Morton’s “New England’s Memorial,” and he adds that in 1728 he determined to draw up a new Chronology, urged thereto by the want of such a history, and particularly by the deficiencies of Neal’s “History of New England,” which had been written “without the helps which this country affords.” He very soon enlarged his design, influenced by the extent of the historical manuscripts, old and new, which came to him, and foremost among them he places this History of Governor Bradford, and “The Ancient Church of Plymouth records, begun by Mr. Secretary Morton,” making no mention, however, of the latter’s indebtedness to the Bradford manuscript, — an omission which might well have deceived Hazard. He also names Hubbard’s History; but he fails to recognize, as has been shown, that it had any connection with the same manuscript. He also takes occasion to borrow in part the words of Strype, in his “Annals of the Reformation,” as the rule he had adopted in using these materials, namely, universally “to set down things in the very words of the records and originals,” — a practice conducing to later developments, as we shall see.‡ Prince signed each of these extracts from the manuscript with the initial *B.*, and lest his

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., Aug., 1866, p. 345.

† See an examination of the book-plate evidence in the introduction to the “Prince Catalogue.”

‡ “And I know not that I have ever changed any words or phrases, unless they were very uncouth, or obsolete; only in some very few instances I have used a softer term for a severer.” — *Prince’s preface.*

readers should think there was a mistake, seeing that Morton used the same language, he adds that "Mr. Morton's History, from the beginning of the Plymouth people to the end of 1646," is "chiefly Governor Bradford's manuscript abbreviated."

Prince died in 1758, and he left by will the library which he had gathered, and which he had kept in the "steeple chamber" of the Old South Church,* to that church, under care of its deacons, and it is highly probable that this manuscript was in this collection at that time.

Governor Hutchinson published in 1764 the first volume of his "History of Massachusetts Bay," and though he refers to Prince, he makes no mention of Prince having used the manuscript, or of himself having borrowed from it; but, as we shall see, Hutchinson had intentionally avoided Plymouth history. He says in the preface of this volume, "I made what collection I could of the private papers of our first settlers; but in this I have not had the success I desired. The descendants of some of them are possessed of many valuable letters and other manuscripts, but have not leisure or inclination to look into them themselves, and yet will not suffer it to be done by others. I am obliged to no other person more than to my friend and brother the Reverend Mr. Mather, whose library has been open to me, as it had been before to the Reverend Mr. Prince, who had taken from thence the greatest and most valuable part of what he had collected."

When Hutchinson, however, published in 1767 his second volume, he said in his preface, "Some of my friends of the Colony of New Plymouth took it unkindly that I said no more of their affairs in the first part of the history. . . . I could never meet with many papers relative to Plymouth. From such papers as I have been able to obtain, I have prepared the best summary I could."† It were hard to believe, from such a declaration about the scant material relative to the Pilgrims, that so full an account as Bradford's could have reached Hutchinson, unless through the medium of Morton, as we know Winthrop reached him through the pages of Hubbard, except that we have Hutchinson's distinct avowal of having used it. In one place he says, "William Bradford was one of the younger men of the Company. Douglass says he was a man of no family and no learning.‡ His manu-

* Prince Catalogue, p. ix.

† This last appears in his appendix.

‡ Dr. William Douglass published in Boston in 1749 the first volume of his "Summary of the first planting of the British Settlements in America"; but he makes no mention of the manuscript, and apparently did not use it. This statement about Bradford is not wholly borne out by Cotton Mather's account, nor by Hunter's later discoveries.

scripts show that he was a plain, sensible man, and in his public trust he was esteemed as a discreet, upright, and faithful officer.”* Again he says, “This manuscript of Bradford is the most ancient memorial relative to this part of the country which is now extant, and it appears from it,” &c., &c. Once again, “Perhaps the relation of this action by Governor Bradford may afford some light on the controversy. I shall therefore cause it to be inserted in the margin exactly as I find the words and points in his manuscript.”

The last mention that we find of the manuscript previous to the Revolution is in 1773, when President Stiles speaks of it in connection with Winthrop’s Journal and Hubbard’s History as “the three most considerable historical accounts of the first settlement of New England.” Four years earlier Dr. Stiles had written the chapter on the history of Robinson’s church (it is dated January, 1769), which forms a part of his manuscript “Ecclesiastical History of New England,” now preserved in the Cabinet of this Society.† In this chapter he says of Governor Bradford, “He wrote an historical journal of the public occurrences in his day, in which are inserted those which arose in this church from its foundation, 1602 to 1646, that is, for the first twenty-six years after its removal to Plymouth, and also for the eighteen years that it subsisted in Europe. Mr. Nathaniel Morton . . . in 1669, printed a ‘Memorial of New England,’ the substance of which to 1646 was selected from Governor Bradford’s manuscript. I have also examined and extracted from the original records of the first church in Plymouth. These are the authorities from which I write the account of Mr. Robinson’s church.” One might easily infer from this that Dr. Stiles had used Bradford at first hand, as indeed he might be thought to have done, were it not that all his extracts from the manuscript are such as he might have got from Prince, whom however he strangely forgets to mention; and were it not also ascertained,‡ that in some other notes of his which are preserved he says, “Governor Bradford’s and Rev. Mr. Hubbard’s manuscripts I have not otherwise than as delivered in the extracts selected in printed books, as Morton’s Memorial, which is said to contain the substance of Governor Bradford.” As this last memorandum is dated three years later than the chapter of the “Ecclesiastical History” given

* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 457.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., Sept., 1879, p. 137.

‡ Pointed out to me by Mr. George Dexter.

to Robinson's church, there can be no doubt that the original was never in Dr. Stiles's hands.

Prince had provided in his will, regarding his library, "that no Person shall borrow any Book or Paper therefrom." Of course it is possible that rules had been broken in favor of Hutchinson, and that the deacons had suffered him to take the book to his house; or, what seems quite as likely, that little care was bestowed upon the collection, and that neither the deacons nor Hutchinson remembered the injunction of the will. Still Hutchinson may have made his use of it in the "steeple chamber"; but the theory that the manuscript found its way to England among his effects would require that he used it in his own study, and that the will was either ignorantly or wilfully disregarded. Hutchinson left Boston in 1774, and if the book went with him to England, it not unlikely reached Fulham in the way suggested by the Rev. Dr. Hoppin: namely, that Hutchinson probably received it among his books, packed and sent over to him after his flight; and, cognizant of the value of the manuscript, he might easily be supposed to have deposited it with the Bishop of London. Further, another view is likely, in Dr. Hoppin's opinion. Hutchinson lived at Brompton and was buried at Croyden, where the Rev. Dr. East Apthorp, whom Hutchinson had known in Boston, and who was a fellow refugee, preached. Apthorp was also a prebendary of St. Paul's. He might naturally have received it from Hutchinson, or his heirs (Hutchinson dying in 1780), and the Bishop of London might well have received it from him.

The more commonly received opinion is, that it was taken from the Old South tower by some one who knew its value, during the time when Boston was occupied by British troops in 1775-76; and was carried, upon the evacuation, to England. Two other volumes, both manuscript, which had belonged to the Prince Library, are now with the Bradford manuscript in the library at Fulham. Both of them contain the book-plate of the New England Library of Prince, filled out in Prince's own hand. Neither of them* was a book likely to have been in Hutchinson's possession; and the natural inference is that they were companions of the Bradford volume in its migrations. This militates against Dr. Hoppin's theory.

* One was a Dictionary of Authors, and the other a commonplace book of Nathan Prince, the brother of Thomas, the companion volume of which is still in the Prince Library.

It is known that the letter-book of Bradford was likewise in the Prince Library, and this too was missing after the evacuation of March, 1776. Some years later the remains of it were found in a grocer's shop in Nova Scotia, and sent to the Historical Society in 1793, by Mr. James Clarke, a Corresponding Member.* It seems more likely that the other Bradford manuscript went the same way on its journey to England.

It was, however, ever after this given up for lost by New England antiquaries, not without a suspicion that it may have been among the papers destroyed when Hutchinson's house in Garden Court Street was sacked in 1765. In 1826 the editor of Prince's "Chronological History" speaks of the Bradford manuscript as having been "lost or destroyed during the Revolutionary War." In 1830 Francis Baylies, in his "Historical Memoir of New Plymouth," says that it is lost, and no trace of it remains except in the Annals of Prince, most strangely forgetting the use which Morton and Hutchinson, if not others, had made of it.

Over twenty years ago, when Mr. Samuel G. Drake was in London, Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, of the manuscript department of the British Museum, told him—as Drake avers—that while he was "rummaging in the Lambeth Library, among a mass of manuscripts," he "detected this of Bradford," and "called the attention of the Librarian to it, who allowed him to take it and to cause it to be repaired as is now seen. But for Mr. Hamilton's . . . calling the attention of the Bishop of Oxford to it," adds Mr. Drake, it might have longer remained unknown.† The Bishop of Oxford (Samuel Wilberforce) had already published in 1844 his first edition of the "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America," and in his reference ‡ to the manuscript he speaks of it as a "Manuscript History of the Plantation of Plymouth, &c., in the Fulham Library." In his preface he names, among those who have assisted him, "The Lord Bishop of London, who most liberally allowed him access to all the manuscript treasures of the Fulham Library." • He says nothing of Mr. Hamilton's instrumentality, and in a note to Mr. Charles Deane, at a later day, the Bishop distinctly says, "I discovered it for myself in searching for original docu-

* Proceedings, vol. i. p. 52.

† Increase Mather's *Early History of New England*, edited by S. G. Drake, Boston, 1864, p. 45. Mr. Drake possibly, and perhaps probably, wrote "Lambeth" by mistake for "Fulham."

‡ Page 55.

ments."* The same reference stands also in his second edition, printed two years later.† Although the Bishop quoted passages already made familiar to students of Pilgrim history, through Morton's and Prince's use of them (which would have served to identify the manuscript), no American scholar recognized them. The Bishop, in November, 1844, sent a copy of his first edition to Mr. Edward Everett, then our Minister in London, and although this identical copy, now by favor of Dr. William Everett in the Society's Library, shows Mr. Everett's careful reading, as evinced by his manuscript annotations, even on the very page of the reference, this important note seems to have excited in him no curiosity. Again, in the year of the second edition (1846) there was printed in New York a pamphlet, "A Reproof of the American Church by the Bishop of Oxford, extracted from a 'History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America,' with an Introduction by an American Churchman." This editor was William Jay, and the extract he introduced was upon the Church's indifference to the evils of slavery, and did not include the reference to the Fulham manuscript. The editor in the introduction speaks of the Bishop of Oxford's book as "almost unknown in this country," and as "virtually suppressed." He then goes on to say that one or two publishers, "as soon as the book reached our shores," announced reprints, which intention had resulted in "expressive silence," and "a concealment of Dr. Wilberforce's work obviously intentional and not accidental," inasmuch as, he adds, "probably one or more Southern bishops have exerted their influence."

Two years later than this (1848) Mr. Deane was fortuitously, as he thought, rescuing from oblivion an incident of the voyage of the "Mayflower" recorded by Bradford, which he had found quoted by Prince, in a bit of the cancelled manuscript of his "Chronological History," ‡ and Mr. S. G. Drake, then editing the "Genealogical Register," where Mr. Deane's communication was printed, said in connection, "It shows us that after all that has been said and done, the original manuscript History of Bradford is still a desideratum."

American antiquaries had not got the clew yet; but they were to overlook it still more strangely. In this same year (1848) the Rev. James S. M. Anderson's "History of the Colonial Church," made it certain that what Wilberforce had used was the veritable Bradford manuscript, for Anderson

* Mr. Deane's preface, p. xix.

† Ed. of 1846, p. 56.

‡ N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register, vol. ii. p. 187; Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., April, 1879, p. 65.

quotes it as Bradford's, calling him, however, the *first* instead of the *second* Governor of that colony, and making it further evident from his statement that "Prince's Annals of New England are chiefly compiled from this manuscript, which is now in the possession of the Bishop of London." * One would suppose that such an explicit statement might have attracted the attention of our own students of American history; but it did not.† It is still more strange, perhaps, that it did not attract the attention of an English scholar, who just at this time was working upon this very subject, and adding materially to our knowledge of the history of the Pilgrims before they left England. This was Joseph Hunter, of the Public Record Office, a gentleman whom one would have thought conversant with current publications of this kind. In 1849, after Wilberforce had made the manuscript known to his readers, and Anderson had identified it, Mr. Hunter published in London the first edition of his "Founders of New Plymouth," in which he speaks of what we owe to Bradford, adding, "Probably no modern colony, and certainly no ancient State, has such authentic and minute information of all events in their earliest history," and then he goes on to specify the writings of Bradford as consisting of Mourt's Relation, and the manuscripts from which Morton, Hubbard, Prince, and Hutchinson had drawn. He says of Prince, "He appears to have been acquainted with writings of Bradford not now known to be in existence"; and adds, "so dangerous it is to allow valuable writings to remain in single copies." All this while this precious manuscript was reposing within an easy walk of him, and had been the previous year identified by Anderson in a book published almost under his eyes. When we observe in Hunter's footnotes the books he consulted, it seems marvellous that neither Wilberforce nor Anderson appears among them. And when we consider that there must have been in England not a few readers who, as Hunter says, had had "their interest about these founders of the North American civilization revived and deepened" by the new light which his book had shed upon their early history,‡ and who might

* Dr. George H. Moore first drew the attention of American scholars to this reference in Anderson in the New York "Times," Oct. 11, 1856. Also see Boston "Post," Oct. 15, 1856; and N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register, January, 1857, p. 44. Anderson's note is repeated in his second edition, London, 1856. This edition is called "The History of the Church of England in the Colonies," and the note occurs vol. ii. p. 193.

† Mr. C. C. Smith's Sketch of Barry's life in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., Dec., 1873, p. 138.

‡ Hunter's 2d ed. (1854), p. viii.

also be reasonably expected to have read Wilberforce's or Anderson's book, it is another link in this strange concatenation of oversights, that no one among such readers, — and they must have included, one remembers, such investigators of American history as Henry Stevens, then fresh in London and eager in quest, and Horatio G. Somerby, — was found, who was fortunate enough to detect the relation which this reference to the Fulham manuscript bore to the story which Mr. Hunter had been telling.* And it is still further to be remarked that this earlier book of the Bishop of Oxford, notwithstanding the alleged "suppression," was reprinted in New York in this same year (1849), with an American editor, "E. M. J.," who says of the bishop that "the opportunity afforded in England to consult the works of the earlier writers upon America has been embraced by the author and most laboriously improved." Still the editor allows the same note as in the English edition to stand here (p. 53) without comment, and six years were yet to pass before any American student of history recognized its significance.

In 1855 the Congregational Board of Publication caused an edition of Morton to be published here in Boston, and the editor was also so far ignorant of the truth, that he says of the Bradford manuscript that "the most diligent search of historians and antiquarians has failed to find it entire."

But before this same year (1855) was well advanced, it was at last brought to the attention of American scholars, through the instrumentality of two gentlemen, who never quite agreed as to their respective shares in this tardy recognition. The facts appear to be these: Mr. John Wingate Thornton noticed in a copy of Bishop Wilberforce's London edition, which he chanced to find at Burnham's antiquarian book-shop in Boston, passages regarding Pilgrim history which struck him as familiar, and which seemed to him couched in phrases of the same characteristics as those of the elder writers on the subject. He noticed that some of the passages gave new facts, and that all of the passages were credited to a manuscript preserved at Fulham. Further than this it does not appear that he went towards the identification, as is shown by some manuscript memoranda of his own, and by his own indorsement of a printed statement made by a friend of his, and signed "Carl," which appeared in the Boston "Transcript,"† and which he

* Mr. W. H. Bartlett published about this time also in London (1853), his "Pilgrim Fathers," and he is so uninformed on the matter as to suppose that Dr. Young had printed all of Bradford.

† July 17, 1856; also N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register, vol. x. p. 354.

subsequently quoted approvingly.* His relations with the Rev. John S. Barry, who was then carrying through the press the first volume of the "History of Massachusetts," were intimate, and Mr. Barry was accustomed to visit Mr. Thornton's office for consultation about his book. On one of these occasions, — Feb. 15, 1855, — Mr. Barry found that Mr. Thornton had left under cover, for Mr. Barry, this book of Wilberforce, having first marked in it such passages as had struck him, and the reference at the foot of the page. With the book he had left also a note, about which there is some difference of evidence. Mr. Thornton says it drew attention to the new facts. Mr. Deane has an impression gathered from several interviews with each, that the note was of little significance; neither Mr. Barry nor "Carl" mentions it at all. Within an hour or two Mr. Barry, reading the book, identified the language as that of Bradford when quoted by Morton and Prince; and he accordingly believed that he had discovered a trace of the long-lost manuscript. Within the next two days he drew the attention of Mr. Samuel G. Drake (a claim at the time was set up, that Barry had got the hint from him †), and of Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, who saw an opportunity of adding Bradford's narrative to the "Records of Plymouth," which he was then editing for the Commonwealth. The latter, however, desisted from any steps when he learned what Mr. Barry had done on the following day. This was to go to Mr. Charles Deane, to say to him that he believed he had made an important discovery, — it being no less than Governor Bradford's manuscript History, — and to ask him to write to England and secure a copy, if it should prove to be the manuscript in question. The grievance set forth by "Carl," in the communication already mentioned, was, that Mr. Barry had concerted with others to secure the manuscript without consulting first with the gentleman from whom he had received the clew. Mr. Barry's explanation was that he tried three times in two days to find Mr. Thornton in his office; but failed. A courtesy, which Mr. Thornton thought was due to him, was prevented by an eagerness on Mr. Barry's part to lose no time, and finding Mr. Deane in correspondence with Mr. Hunter, and just at that moment settling upon the contents of a new volume of the Historical Society's Collections, which, as Chairman of the Committee of Publication, he was to edit, Mr. Barry wished Mr. Deane to write, which he did.

* Maine Hist. Coll., vol. v. p. 144.

† "Transcript," April 16, 1855; N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register, vol. ix. p. 231; Drake's Supplement to Baylies's New Plymouth, p. 9.

When Mr. Barry, a few days later, returned the book to Mr. Thornton and told him what he had done, he became aware of Mr. Thornton's feelings, and the friendship which had heretofore existed was imperilled; and the breach was not narrowed when Mr. Barry's first volume came out, and Mr. Thornton saw that Mr. Barry had used the "new facts" which had been pointed out, accompanying them with the statement that he (Barry) had found them in the Bishop of Oxford's book, and supposed the manuscript to which they were referred must be the long-lost manuscript of Bradford. Mr. Barry evidently felt that the book he quoted was a printed one, whose value to him was derived from his own sagacity in identifying the passages, and not from the marks which Mr. Thornton had put in it, and which Mr. Barry would never admit had influenced him in reaching his conclusions. Whatever the fact, this action was met by resentment on Mr. Thornton's part, which was carried so far as to preclude Mr. Deane's giving him his just dues in the preface of the printed volume, which Mr. Deane subsequently edited, inasmuch as Mr. Thornton was not willing to have his name coupled with any others in the credit of the discovery.

On ascertaining Mr. Thornton's feelings, Mr. Barry, though never yielding the point that he had made an independent discovery, expressed himself—in a letter to be shown to Mr. Thornton—as quite willing to share the credit of it with, or indeed, to yield the principal part of the credit of it to, Mr. Thornton. He said that Mr. Thornton had owned the volume which contained the clew, had noticed the new matter and its reference to the manuscript in the Fulham Library, and had lent the volume to him; and though Mr. Thornton had not identified the manuscript as Bradford's lost History, yet he felt that he would have done so in a short time. Therefore he desired that full credit should be given to Mr. Thornton for what he was entitled to, in any statement made, in the premises. It was sufficient for *him* that Bradford's History was discovered. But this was not responded to by Mr. Thornton, and Mr. Barry felt that the grievances were not all on one side. He, therefore, on his part became indignant, and felt that he must protect his own rights; but of the anonymous representations in the newspapers he never took any public notice.*

* So much time having since passed, and both of the gentlemen having gone from us, Mr. Deane and myself have judged it to be fitting that the contemporary evidence, lodged with Mr. Deane by both of them, should be made public, and in connection with printed statements it has been made use of in this brief

The letter which Mr. Deane wrote to Mr. Hunter* covered an original letter of Governor Bradford, which Mr. Deane chanced to possess, and it was enclosed to furnish a comparison with the handwriting of the manuscript. Mr. Hunter's replies† established beyond doubt that the manuscript was what Anderson had already declared it to be, though this evidence, as we have seen, was unknown to Mr. Hunter and the others. The transcript was received August 3, with a note, dated July 14, from Mr. Hunter, which has been printed by Mr. Deane, who proceeded at once to prepare the copy for the press, from which it issued with a preface dated April 16, 1856, and enriched with Mr. Deane's annotations. It appeared both as a separate publication and as one of the series of this Society's Collections.

In 1860 the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, through a friend, the late Venerable John Sinclair, M.A., Archdeacon of Middlesex, brought the question of restoring the manuscript to this country to the attention of the then Bishop of London. It was urged that the sanction of the Queen would be ample authority for the transfer, and that it would be "a conciliatory act if the Prince of Wales [then about to visit America] were to take it across the Atlantic and present it to the people of Massachusetts." The late Attorney General, Sir Fitzroy Kelly, had kindly entertained the proposition, saying, "It would be an exceptionable act of grace on a most interesting occasion, and I heartily wish success in the application." The Bishop however, took another view. "The difficulty," he said, "of alienating property of this kind could, I believe, only be got over by an Act of Parliament."

The Civil War which soon followed precluded for a while all possibility of action under the course presented by the Bishop. In 1866 Mr. Charles Deane, as already stated, visited Fulham and saw the manuscript, and collated it in parts with the printed copy. A few weeks later the late Dr. Samuel F. Haven also inspected it.

Early in 1869 Mr. John Lothrop Motley was appointed

recital. It consists, beside what is in print already, of a letter from Mr. Barry to Mr. Deane, which has in the main been given in the text; some notes on this letter by Mr. Thornton, lacking in explicitness in some essential points; and a memorandum by Mr. Barry, of his consultations during the two days subsequent to the identification. I have not given heed to recollections by others of statements made by Mr. Barry and Mr. Thornton, preferring to depend on evidence under their own hands.

* It is given in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., vol. ii. p. 602.

† March 12 and 19, 1855, given in Mr. Deane's preface and in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, April 12, 1855, p. 21, when Mr. Deane announced the discovery to the Society.

Minister to England, and the present writer, then in charge of the Public Library in Boston, in whose custody was the Princee Library, brought the question of its return to his attention. Mr. Motley expressed much interest in the matter, and it was particularly represented to him that it might be urged on the ground of reciprocity, since some valuable and ancient state papers of England had been found a few years before in the Philadelphia Library, and returned to the custody of the Queen's government.* Mr. Motley on his arrival in England was met with the same declaration which had been urged by the Bishop nine years earlier, and before any steps could be taken to bring a bill before Parliament Mr. Motley was recalled.

In October, 1877, I renewed the proposition in a company of literary friends in London, and was urged to confer with the then Bishop. I went to Fulham, but found the Bishop was absent. The steward, however, showed me the manuscript, and took the letter intended for the Bishop, who on his return sent for me, but his invitation reached London just as I was embarking for home, and the pleasure was necessarily declined.

In 1880 Professor William Watson Goodwin of Harvard College inspected the manuscript at Fulham.

In 1881, incident to the unprecedented expression of kindly feeling which sympathy for this country in its affliction for the wounding and death of President Garfield created in Great Britain, Mr. Benjamin Scott, the Chamberlain of London, suggested in the public prints of London, that it was a fitting moment to make this restitution. This proposition has caused some interest once more in the manuscript, and is the occasion of the present attempt to trace its history.

* The volumes in question contained correspondence under the Privy Seal of King James I., relating to Irish affairs, together with a manuscript diary of Lord Clanricard, and when seen by Hepworth Dixon during his visit to this country were recognized as of value, and subsequently found to fill a hiatus in the Irish Record Office. They had been given to the Philadelphia Library Company in 1799 by Henry Hamilton Cox, whose singular career is told with embellishments by Bayard Taylor in the "Atlantic Monthly," March, 1868, under the name of "A Strange Friend"; and the documents were surrendered to the British government in 1867.

Boston Public Library
from
Robt. Winthrop

12

CORRESPONDENCE

OF SOME OF THE FOUNDERS OF

The Royal Society of England

WITH

GOVERNOR WINTHROP OF CONNECTICUT.

1661-1672.

REPRINTED FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1878.

12

CORRESPONDENCE
OF
HARTLIB, HAAK, OLDENBURG,
AND OTHERS OF THE FOUNDERS OF
The Royal Society,
WITH
GOVERNOR WINTHROP OF CONNECTICUT.
1661-1672.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Society.

BOSTON:
PRESS OF JOHN WILSON AND SON.
1878.

INTRODUCTION.

AT the monthly meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, June 13, 1878, after the transaction of other business, the President (Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP) communicated the correspondence between Hartlib, Haak, Oldenburg, and others of the founders of the Royal Society, and Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut, introducing it as follows:—

WHILE I was in London, as long ago as 1860, I obtained from the Royal Society, through the kind intervention of my friend, the late Sir Henry Holland, copies of all the letters of Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, commonly known as John Winthrop, Jr., which had been preserved in their archives. (There were nine of them in all, some of them of considerable length, and most of them addressed to Henry Oldenburg, the first Secretary of that Society.) It seems that I more than half promised at the time to furnish copies, in return, of any letters from officers or members of the Society which might be found among my family papers; and I was reminded of that promise the last time I was in London, at a social meeting of the Society, which I was privileged to attend.

It has but recently fallen in my way to turn over my papers of that period, and I have found a number of letters, which are certainly not a little curious and interesting.

Here are two letters from Samuel Hartlib,—the same “Master Hartlib” to whom Milton addresses his noble essay on Education, and of whom he speaks, in that essay, as “a person sent hither by some good Providence from a far

country to be the occasion and incitement of great good to this island." Winthrop calls him "the Great Intelligencer of Europe."

Here are two letters from Theodore Haak, another of Milton's friends,—a German, like Hartlib, but, like him, long resident in England, and who is said to have been "the founder of the London Club, or Invisible College of Natural Philosophers," from which the Royal Society originated.

Here are seven letters from Oldenburg, still another of Milton's friends and coadjutors, to whom Milton writes, in a familiar letter, "You have learnt to speak our language more accurately and happily than any other foreigner of our acquaintance." Our Honorary Member, Professor Masson, in his most comprehensive and interesting Life of Milton, has much to say of Hartlib, Haak, and Oldenburg, of whom Milton made great use while he was Cromwell's Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Two of them, if not all three of them, were among the earliest members of the Royal Society, and Oldenburg was long its Secretary and factotum.

Here, again, is one brief letter from William Brereton, afterwards Lord Brereton, whose name stands fourth in the first Charter of the Society, after those only of Lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Moray, and Robert Boyle.

And, finally, here are six letters from Sir Robert Moray, who was the first and only President of the Society during the two years of its existence before it was chartered by the King, and who was styled by Bishop Burnet, in his History, "the life and soul of that body."

These letters are thus not only interesting in themselves, but they were written by men who were engaged at the time in founding and building up a Society which is second to no other in any part of the world for its importance and celebrity. They cast no little light on the condition of Science at that early day; and, written to one then resident in New England, during the period between 1661 and 1672, they show what were the subjects in New England on which information was most eagerly sought in Old England.

Science was still in its infancy, but, under the inspiration of Bacon's *Novum Organum*, was beginning to make Hercu-

lean struggles with old delusions. Alchemy, however, had not quite yet been strangled, and the Elixir of Life and the Philosopher's Stone were still occasional subjects of speculation and search. Galileo, no long time before, had established the motion of the earth to the satisfaction of everybody but the Inquisition, and had opened the heavens with his telescope. But comets, and meteors, and "blazing starres," as they were called, occasioned alarm and consternation, whenever they were seen. Avalanches, or land-slides, were looked upon as leaping or skipping hills, and were associated with Divine judgments, according to the well-remembered imagery of the Bible.* The ocean, with its contents and currents, its strange fishes and its violent water-spouts, was a wholly unfathomed mystery. Wonders were descried everywhere, in earth, sea, and sky, and were waiting to be stripped of all marvellous or anomalous attributes, and to be reduced and classified under the domain of natural laws. Newton was a young student of Trinity College, Cambridge, when the first of these letters was written, and his great analysis of Light was not promulgated until many years after the date of the last. Electricity and Lightning were still to wait three-quarters of a century for Franklin, and Heat a full century for Rumford.

In the mean time, Mines and Minerals — gold and silver, lead, iron, and copper — were the subjects of greatest practical interest to those who turned their thoughts to new lands across the sea, and the eagerness and extravagance of their expectations were only matched by the credulity and crudeness of their experiments. These letters afford abundant indications of this sort. Governor Winthrop well remarks, in one of them, "It may be God reserves such of his bounties to future generations." It will not be unobserved, that, in another of his letters, he refers incidentally to having been personally present when New Netherland was surrendered to the British fleet and forces ("August 28, 1664"),† and when the names NEW YORK and ALBANY were first given to towns on this continent. The population of New York, at that

* Psalm cxiv.

† The date is given elsewhere August 27th. But Winthrop, rightly or wrongly, says Monday, the 28th.

time, is estimated to have been about 1,500 souls! The day for discovering and working Mines had certainly not arrived.

I happened to mention the existence of these letters in a very recent visit to the late Professor Henry, at Washington, and he begged me not to postpone their publication longer. But he had died, to the sorrow of all the friends of science, before I reached home, and within ten days after the conversation.

In fulfilling my long-deferred promise, I am glad of an opportunity to correct a misapprehension into which our venerable friend, Dr. Palfrey, seems to have been betrayed in a foot-note on Winthrop of Connecticut, in the second volume of his admirable *History of New England*, p. 539. That foot-note begins as follows: "It has been inferred, from some language in Mortimer's *Dedication* of the fortieth volume of the *Royal Society's Transactions*, that Winthrop was one of the original associates. But such was not the fact. See a list of them in the charter (which passed the seals, July 15, 1663), in Weld's excellent *History of the Royal Society*, II. 484."

Now it is perfectly true that the name of Winthrop is not in the charter of 1663, and it might seem to be a sufficient reason for the omission that he was not then in England, and that, after spending a year or more there in the service of Connecticut, he had returned to his New England home, and was henceforth to be only a foreign associate. But, as a matter of fact, neither of the royal charters of the Society — for there were three of them successively: the first bearing date July 25, 1662; the second, April 22, 1663; and the third, April 8, 1669 — contains the names of the Fellows, but only those of the Officers and Council of the Society. The names of the Fellows are found in the earlier *Histories* of the Society. The first of these *Histories* was published by Bishop Sprat in 1667, and was written, as Weld says, when "the institution had only just been organized." In the list of members contained in that volume, Winthrop's name is found in its alphabetical order. The second of these *Histories* was published by Dr. Thomas Birch in 1756. In the four volumes of this work are found the earliest records of the Society. By those records it appears that on the 18th of December, 1661, "John

Winthrop, Esq., was proposed as a candidate by Mr. Brereton," and that, on the 1st of January following, "Mr. Winthrop was admitted into the Society."

Winthrop of Connecticut had then recently arrived in England to procure a Charter for the colony of which he was Governor. He had previously been known to more than one of the members of the Society, and had corresponded with at least two of them, — Robert Boyle and Sir Kenelm Digby. The letters of Hartlib and Brereton, here given, refer, also, to a previous correspondence. He was somewhat of a voyager in his early years, and must have fallen in with some of these men of science during his travels. Educated at the Free Grammar School of Bury St. Edmunds, and afterwards at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1622–24, he had been admitted to the Inner Temple, as a lawyer, in 1624–25. But in 1627 we find him serving as Secretary of Captain Best, of H. M. ship "Due Repulse," in the expedition of the Duke of Buckingham for the relief of the Protestants at Rochelle; and, after that expedition had failed, he set off on an extended European and Oriental tour, which occupied him for fourteen or fifteen months. Having followed his father, the Governor of Massachusetts, to New England, in 1631, he had twice visited Old England again before 1660; — once in 1634, returning in 1635 as Governor of the Connecticut River Colony at Saybrook, with a commission from Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brooke; and again in 1641, when he also visited Holland and other places on the Continent.* His acquaintance with some of his scientific correspondents plainly dates back to these early experiences. In 1639, we find a Latin letter of his, addressed "Clarissimo Doctissimoque Viro, Domino Doctori Golio, Professori Mathematicæ Linguæque Arabicæ in Celebrissimâ Academiâ Lugduni Batavorum" (Leyden), in which he refers to having known the Professor at Venice ten years before. In 1649–50, we find him corresponding in Latin with Dr. John Tanemaer and Professor Slegel, of Hamburg, and a few years later with Jacob Gabri (?), of Amsterdam.

* For a brief but brilliant account of Winthrop of Connecticut, see Bancroft's History of the United States (Centennial edition), vol. i. p. 420. See, also, Life and Letters of John Winthrop (his father), vol. i. ch. ix.

His later correspondence embraced many names more distinguished.

The early records of the Royal Society, as contained in Birch's History, afford ample evidence of Winthrop's participation in their sayings and doings during the year which he spent in England after his election as a member. He was called on to give an account of strange Tides; of the making of Tar and Pitch in New England; and of the making of Potashes. He was on a committee with Evelyn and Dr. Goddard and Dr. Merret to consider the improvement and planting of timber for the Navy. He read a paper on "The Conveniency of building Ships in some of the Northern Parts of America."* He exhibited varieties of Indian corn, and presented some bottles of beer, which, at the request of the Society, he had caused to be brewed of maize.

On the 14th of January, 1662-63, he called attention to the fact that a ship built in New England was lately arrived there, and was requested to bring in an account of the size and shape of it.† And, finally, on the 18th of March, 1662-63, having acquainted the Society with his intention of returning soon to New England, he was desired to take with him the "Royal Society's Directions for Seamen," and to make as many of the observations and experiments contained therein as he could. He was accordingly furnished with "a dozen sounding leads, and three or four balls, and with the cylindrical vessel with valves to fetch up water from the bottom of the sea." Winthrop of Connecticut seems thus to have been called on by the Royal Society to dredge the sea, very much as Franklin and Agassiz did in more recent days.

In 1664, his name is on the list of two of the Standing Committees of the Society, — one of them, "To consider and improve all Mechanical Inventions"; the other, "For Histories of Trade." And when a conjunction of Mercury with the

* This Paper and that on the making of Tar are printed at length in Birch's History.

† "A ship built in New England" was undoubtedly a strange sight in the port of London at that day. It would be interesting to trace the history of early New England ship-building from "The Blessing of the Bay," built at Mistick by Governor Winthrop, the elder, and launched on the 4th of July, 1631.

Sun was to occur in that year, he was called on to take part in the observations.

These records might be multiplied, if it were desirable, but quite enough of them have been given to show that Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, the Secretary of the Royal Society in 1741, in his somewhat florid and extravagant Dedication of the fortieth volume of "The Philosophical Transactions" to Winthrop's grandson,* then a member, was not altogether mistaken in associating the Governor of Connecticut with the earliest members of the Society. Let me proceed, however, without farther preamble, to the Letters, which will sufficiently tell their own story. They will be given in the order of their date, together with Winthrop's replies, as far as I have been able to procure them either from the files of the Royal Society, or from rough drafts found among my own papers.

I have forbore from presenting several of the papers procured from the Royal Society's Archives, as they had already been printed, either among their Transactions or in our own Collections. The letter of Winthrop to Lord Brereton, 11 October, 1670, on "the overturned hill" in Maine, may be found in both; and his letters to Oldenburg about "the Basket Fish," now known by the scientific name of "*Astrophyton Agassizii*," have recently been reproduced from "The Philosophical Transactions" for 1670 and 1671, by our associate, Colonel Theodore Lyman, in No. 1 of the Illustrated Catalogue of "The Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Harvard College." There were also two or three unimportant papers (from the Sloane MSS.) from the grandson of Winthrop, nearly a century later in date, and not worth notice here.

It must not fail to be borne in mind that the Correspondence here given is somewhat disconnected and fragmentary; that many of the letters which passed between the writers are no longer to be found; and that several of those which have survived the accidents of more than two centuries, and

* It was this John Winthrop, and not, as Weld says (vol. i. p. 471), the "Hollisian Professor" of Harvard University, of the same name and family, who made the valuable presents to the Royal Society in 1734.

particularly those of Governor Winthrop, are reproduced from torn and time-worn originals, or from rough drafts or imperfect copies, having many interlineations not to be deciphered with certainty, and not a few abbreviations and breaks which could only be conjecturally filled out. Their main interest is in giving an idea of the men and the times, and in throwing some incidental light on the rise and progress of a Society, which in later years has contributed so largely to the advancement of Science. I might have hesitated about reproducing some of them at all, but for the request of those who had kindly gratified my own desire to obtain copies of such as had been preserved in the archives of that Society.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[AXE-YARD IN WESTM., Sept. 3, 1661.

WORTHY & MUCH HONOURED SIR,—Our Publique Miseries and my privat condition (to speake of no Particulars at present) are such that yet I must answer briefly your most loving Letters of Octob. 25, 1660 and May 10, 1661. I heartily thank you again for y^e barrel of Cramburies w^{ch} was very safely delivered to mee. The present of the Indian Corne I have not received to this day, but professe mys. highly obliged to your generous courtesy. My affliction of the Stone and Ulcer are very grievous (to say nothing of other miseries, w^{ch} by reason of the times are very heavily fal'n vpon your tormented Servant). But blessed bee the Lord that they are admeasured by a loving & faithful hand. The same God of compassions wil not leave mee nor forsake mee. I beseech you to remember my most hearty respects & services to that Reverend & most pretious Servant of God Mr. Davinport, to whom I cannot write for the present, but have sent him by these ships a smal Packet directed to his name with a Book or two of the Bohemian Ch-Government, & some Prophetical Papers, w^{ch} were sent lately to mee from my deare friend Mr. Dury,* who is now at Amsterdam & writes in his last as followeth: “But I must tell you that I am moved (by special privat Friends) to goe up into Germany, where perhaps I shal stay some time, & being far out of the way shal not bee able to doe your Son † that service w^{ch} you desire. I have beene of

* John Durie, a Scotch friend of Hartlib's, author of a famous scheme for a union of all the Protestant Churches of Europe.

† The eldest son of Winthrop (Fitz John) had held a commission as Captain under General Monk for several years, and was now in London at the age of twenty-one. He was afterwards, like his father, Governor of Connecticut, and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

late little abroad, being about to cause print a Prodrömus to the the-
 sys w^{ch} I purpose afterward to publish. I am busie to dispatch some
 Writings, w^{ch} are to go in it, & so have stayed at home. The Lord
 direct all for the best & assist you & us all in all our straits at all
 times, hearing all our Prayers for all our concerns, — to his Fatherly
 care I comend you." Thus far the Letter from Amst. ^{29 Aug.}_{2 Sep.} 1661.
 The fore-said Booke is called — *De Bono Unitatis et Ordinis Disci-*
plinæq. ac Obedientiæ In Ecclesia recte constituta vel constituenda.
Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ ad Anglicanam Parænesis. Cum præmissa Ordinis
ac Disciplinæ in Ecclesiis F. F. Bohem. Usitatæ Descriptione. I won-
 der that you have not heard of Dr. Rob. Child who dyed in Ireland
 about 3 yeares agoe, living with Esquire Hill. Hee was a singular
 lover of your Person & a most useful honest Man in his kind.* If your
 other Friend come into England, I pray doe not faile to address him
 to my acquaintance. For if the Lord should yet spare my health, I
 may perhaps not bee unuseful to him, both for his Improvement of that
 Talent of y^e Bank of Lands & Coñodities, as likewise for his skil in
 Iron Works, discovery of Minerals & y^e Singularities about Salt-Works,
 & y^e Separating the fresh Water from the Salt in a speedy easy way.
 I wish his occasions would draw him over. Mr. Comenius is con-
 tinually diverted by particular Controversies of Socinians & others
 from his main Pansophical Work, but some weekes agoe hee wrote
 that hee would no more engage hims. in any Particular Controversy,
 but would refer y^{em} all to his Pansophical Worke. Just now I had
 a Letter from honest & worthy Mr. Morian writing as followeth:
 "Hern Winthrop wolle der Herr meinet wegen hertzlichen grüssen.
 Ich bin seiner nit vergessen, dencke noch oft an Ihn, und bisweilen
 wünsch Ich mich bey Ihn auff $\frac{1}{2}$ oder gantzen tag. Unser Teutsche
 Becker hatt auch viel Kunststrichlein; in seinem letzten schreibet Er
 wie folget — sub finem — Habetis hisce demonstrationem ad oculum et
 manum, tam facilis eam Informationis, ut jam dudum aliqui non unius
 diei sed horæ spatio totum opus assecuti fuerint. Eadem facilitate
 modum addere possem quo unius vel alterius horæ intervallo diversa-
 rum linguarum literas vocabulum sensus et pronuntiationem quilibet
 assequi, modo suam vernaculam linguam legere, ejusdemq. literas
 scribere valeat, ita ut non tantum præcedenti doctrina instructus varias
 nationes intelligere, sed et earum literas vocabula et pronuntiationem
 exprimere sciat. Ex præcedente caractere singularis quoque Mne-
 moniæ species exoritur, qua unius diei spatio millia aliquot vocabulorum
 ita memoriæ mandari possunt, licet cuilibet vocabulo, diversus numerus
 adhæreat, ut aliquis secundum seriem ea recensere, vel si de vocabulo in
 initio medio aut fine paginæ existente [quærat?] quinam sit numerus
 eidem assignatus, aut vero vice versa, et artificio se explicare queat.
 Paradoxa hæc et gravia nimis videbuntur vera tamen suntque. Vale."
 The Optical Lanthorns are not yet so useful as they were projected,
 but I make no doubt by some or other they will bee perfected. Some
 weekes agoe I sent you the Systeme of Saturne with all the Cuts, being

* See Winthrop Papers, 5 Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. i. pp. 148–164.

Mr. Brereton's gift, but hee had no time to write unto you. Hee is gone to his owne Country Cheshire to sell some of his Lands to pay his Fathers Debts. Hee hath taken that brave Husband-man Mr. Cressy Dymock along with him. I passionately long for your Anonymous Friend's (whom also before you have named) Method to raise such vast Profits without such engagement of Lands as the said Bank of Lands requireth. I have told you already of the safe delivery of the barrel with Cramburies last y. but that of y^e Indian Corne I have not yet received. Nor doth Mr. Harwood heare of it, as hee sent mee word about 2 or 3 Months agoe. I long for it very much. (I dare not use any Mineral Water, but am much beholden to your cordial Advice. There is now or shortly to bee prepared for mee that excellent *Rex Calce viva* described *sparsa mentione* by Basil Valentinus in his Workes. If the Lord give a blessing, I shal not faile G. w. to impart it unto you.) The designed Society, w^{ch} I sent you, is not put in practise, y^e Principal Leaders judging Europe no ways worthy of it. They intend to erect the said foundation in some other part of the World. If G. spare my life & health, I shal acquaint you more largely with the Banke of Lands. For the times of such a Publique and Universal Happines seems not yet to bee at hand. Mr. Potter hath very much elaborated y^{at} whole Designe, but is not so willing to act for y^e present. Mr. Benjamin Worsley,* our Special Friend, is much dealing with his Maj. and some of his Privy Council to bee sent over as an Agent or Resident of all the Plantations. If it bee granted, great numbers of honest People will replenish all English Plantations, and then Mr. Potters Contrivances will bee best set on foot amongst them. But I dare write no more for the present. The Merchants are very much for such a General Council of Trade. His Maj. and the Great Lord Chauncelour have beene at all their debates, but as yet nothing is concluded in it. If it bee established, I shal endeavour, G. permitting, to give you full notice of it. I pray again let mee heare largely of your Anonymous Friend. Hevelii Selenographia in fol. with excellent Cuts is no more to bee had. But it may bee if I should write to y^e Author of it at Dantzick hee might send mee one. It hath been sold ordinarily for three pound sterl. a peece. Systema Saturnium I have sent you as already said. Mr. Morian promised to send mee for you all the Glauberian Tracts with some other w^{ch} are counted truer Adepts,† and have taken all his Writings to taske. But it seemes the good old Man hath forgotten it. It may bee I shal bee able to send them by the next occasion of Shipping, if the Lord give leave, in whose love I rest ever, Worthy & much Honoured Sir,

Your very faithful Friend to serve you,

(SAM. HARTLIB, Senr)

(Addressed) For y^e Honorable JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^r,
In New England. These pst.

* Winthrop addresses him as "Dr. Benjamin Worsley."

† A term among alchemists for those who pretended to have found the philosopher's stone.

WORTHY SIR,—I was very glad to find in our good friend Mr. Hartlib's letter that you were come to London and that you intend to make some stay in England. I hope to be at London within this fortnight, and that I shall have the good hap as to meet with you. Till then it is not to any purpose to trouble you with particulars, onely to tell you that I have received your two letters, with the inclosed raritie of Saturne, and that by Mr. Hartlib I sent towards America for you Hugenius his Systema Saturnium, of which I hope to find a copie for you where you now are. I have been these six weeks surveying an Estate which by the blessing of God upon good conduct may prove of advantage to the unregarded numerous poore among us, if there be any time of refreshing neere at hand. I now say no more but that I hope an acquaintance, begun at so great a distance, will not be broken off when I shall be so happy as to see you, but that though I am not able to serve you, yet you will accept of my reall desire to be

Your very faithfull friend to my power,

WILLIAM BRERETON.

BRERETON, IN CHESHIRE, October the Second, 1661.

(Addressed) For the Worthy Mr. JOHN WINTHROP, at London, these.

HONOURED SIR,—I count it my duty to let you know that I heare the Court are upon sending a Governor into New England, & that there are some Privat Agitations on foot concerning that Countrey. I being not able to learne any thing of Particulars further, and knowing no businesse can bee done here at Court without some Interest, give mee leave to desire the more earnestly that you & Mr. Worsley may bee acquainted with all convenient speed.* And this I doe the rather seeing I know that Mr. Worsley hath much the eare of y^e L^d Chauncellour, and I believe in reference to y^e Plantations Hee is Privy to most Transactions. I can assure you, Sir, that you will finde Mr. Worsley every way a Civil Man, and one I know will shew you a special respect, for the character Mr. Worsley hath received from mee. I believe you will finde Mr. Worsley according to your own heart's desire relating to any Publique Good, Just Liberty of Conscience, and any sort of ingenious kinde of Improvements. Hee lived out of Towne neare High-Gate, as I told you, but cometh to Towne twice a Weeke alwayes, viz.: On Mondays and Fridays, about 10 o Clock or betweene 10 and 11 in the fore-noone, and stayes at his lodging generally one houre or two before hee is going abroad. Hee lodgeth in Towne

* He seems to have become one of the Governor's special friends and correspondents. At the close of a long letter to him, dated October 27, 1670, Winthrop says: "Be assured, Deare Sir, I seldom looke upon the Constellations of the heavens, or the planetts, especially Jupiter, with my telescope, or the glorious Constellation of Orion, but the most grateful memory of yourselfe is fresh to my thoughts & soule." Perhaps Dr. Worsley had given him the telescope at their parting in 1663.

at one Mr. Grigs, his house at Hughes Court, neere y^e Water-side in Black Friars. Thus wishing you would finde him out as soone as you can, I take my leave, remaining ever,

Honoured Sir,

Your most affectionat Friend to love & serve you,

SAM. HARTLIB, Sen.

This Wednesday-night late, Octob. 9, 1661.

(Addressed) To the Worthy and much Honoured JOHN WINTHROP, Esq.
Next to the Church in Colman Street. With care and speed, I pray.

LONDON, Aug. 5, 1663.

SIR,—I cannot but in y^e beginning of this letter expresse my Joy of so prosperous and speedy a voyage, as I understood by y^{rs} of y^e 4 of June you had to y^r plantaõns. I hope it will be seconded by new blessings vpon y^e place; and I most heartily pray it may be so, promising myselve so far at least a share therein, y^t I may further rejoyce at y^r communicating y^e news thereof to me. I did impart to our Society y^r tryals at sea, and y^r offer to contribute in y^r parts what may be for the service of their desseins. They charged me to giue you their thanks, and were of opinion y^t y^e sounding trials ought to be made in calme weather, for w^{ch} purpose they haue recommended y^e like to one Captain Silas Taylor, also an ingeneous and knowg person, who is now going for Virginia for his privat occasions, and hath promised us to reiterate many sea experiments, as also to giue us a very particular account of every thing y^t shall occurre to him any wayes remarkable and furthering our Ends. The same doe they also expect from you, perswading y^mselues you will in time giue y^m a better Account of y^e remarkables of y^r quarters yⁿ is any yet extant, concerning y^e mappe of y^e contry, y^e history of all its productions, and particularly of y^e subterraneous ones (concerning w^{ch} you know what they look for from you, to y^e end y^t you may receaue fuller instructions and ampler commission upon discoveries made knowne to y^m), as also concerning y^r neighbors and their dealings wth you, and y^r hopes of advancing further amongst y^m, likewise a relation of the Tides vpon y^r coast, together wth y^e course of y^r riuers; but, especially and above all, a full account of y^r succeſse in y^r new way of salt-making, whereof we could not compasse y^e experement here, as was much desired. Y^r conceptions about a bank are now in y^e hands of M^r. Brereton, who is y^r very affect. servant, but doubts whether it be so fit to have y^m communicated to y^e person you named in y^r letter. When I shall haue receaued y^e sentiment of vnderstanding men concerning y^e same, I shall not faile, God permitting, to signify it vnto you. One of our number hath proposed other wayes of sounding depths, as also other vessels to fetch vp water from y^e bottom of y^e sea, w^{ch}, when come to perfection, shall also be sent to you; and any other thing y^t may be worth imparting, or shall be commanded by you, wherein I haue any hability to serue you. Since you went, y^e Society hath made, among others, the Torricellian Expt.

in a glas-tube of 40 foot high, w^{ch} costed much trouble, but gaue contentmt. But they made another, w^{ch} puzzleth and perplexeth, considering y^t it seems to destroy the plausible hypothesis of y^e spring and weight of y^e Air, for water defecated from Air, and included in a bolt-head w^{hin} y^e Receauer of M^r Boyles Engin remaineth suspended in y^e s^d bolt-head, and doth not at all subside after y^e Receauer hath been totally exhausted of air. Whence it seems a cleer conclusion y^t y^e pressure of y^e ambient air being removed, and yet y^e water not descending at all, y^e s^d pressure cannot be y^e cause w^{ch} keepeth vp y^e water or v^{*} at their equall heights. *Causa enim vera sublata, tollitur effectus: at hic non tollitur effectus, causa licet a nobis assignata tollatur.* . . .

I shall not be over-tedious wth any further reckoning vp to you of y^e particulars giuen in to increase our philosophical Stock: only this I must adde, y^t his Maj^{ty} presented his R. Society on munday last wth a very noble mace,† of 60 lb. sterl. w^{ch} this very day will be y^e first time made vse of, and be carried before our noble Presid^t at our meeting. We hope also y^t his Maj^{ty} will shortly honor us wth a visit, and write himselfe in our book of Fellows, in y^e front thereof, as our Founder and Patron, and then also name something of his guift y^t may enable us to carry on our desseins. I should annexe something of politicall news, but y^t I think I haue tired you by this time, and y^t y^e ship y^t carrieth these will furnish you better yⁿ my pen can. Only this I shall tell you, y^t y^e Bill agst Sectaries and Papists did not passe at y^e late prorogaõ of y^e Parle^{mt}, w^{ch} was July 27, vntill March 16, 1664. It seems y^e Houses did apprehend y^t if they should put those two parties into one predicament of severity and persecution, they might put y^mselves into one and y^e same predicamt of action for their relief. *Punitis ingeniis gliscit autoritas*, said old and wise Tacitus, seconded by y^e experience of all ages and places. I pray forget not to send us your way of making Potashes, for w^{ch} I find you vpon my arr [torn] w^{ch} now and yⁿ are called for. I had almost forgot to let you know y^t S^r W^m Petty's double bottomed ship hath been lately twice at Holyhead [torn] great succe^{se}, and wonne 50^{lb}. ster^l in running agst y^e best vessel of ireland.‡ He now offers a wager of 500^{lb}. agst any vessell in y^e whole world,

* This, in the old chemical notation, represents mercury. A description of the experiment, with an illustration, will be found in Dr. Birch's History of the Royal Society, vol. i. p. 275.

† There is an elaborate account of this Mace in the seventh chapter, first volume of Weld's History of the Royal Society, with the reasons for discrediting an old idea that it was the original "Fool's Bauble," which Cromwell ordered to be "taken away," when he dissolved the Long Parliament. In the second volume, page 582, Weld gives an engraved illustration of the mace, of which he says: "The associations appertaining to it, embracing the remembrance, that around it have been gathered men whose names not only shed imperishable lustre on the Royal Society, but on the civilized world, must hallow it to all lovers of science and truth."

‡ Sir William Petty was Music Professor in Gresham College, and for many years a member of the Council of the Royal Society. An account of his curious ship, which, after making a successful trip to Holyhead, was lost in a storm on her second voyage, may be seen in Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham College. See, also, Pepys's Diary.

and saith positively y^t y^e perfection of sayling lyeth in his principle. Find it out who can. Y^e King hath giuen order he and his ship should come and meet him at Portsmouth, where his Maj^{ty} intends to be [*torn*] a few dayes. Y^e objections of oversetting and divulsion, he saith, he intends [his] ship itselſe shall answer, wthout any more adoe. But yet our severe mathematicions and shipwrights doubt y^t structure still in foule weather and growne seas; and so doth, S^r,

Y^r assured fre. and serv^t,

H. OLDENBURG.

I pray let y^r superscription to me be hereafter for H. Oldenburg at M^r Stories, a stone cutter in y^e Pallmall, London.

(Addressed) For my much honored friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., Governor of Connectecut, recommended to M^r John Richards, Marchant, at Boston, or M^r Amos Richardson, marchant, or M^r Hezekia Usher, bookseller, at Boston, in New England.

(Indorsed) M^r Oldenburge.

HONORABLE S^r,—When the Commissioners were mett at Boston in September last, the Widdow of Mr. Mayhew, who had been in his life-tyme a preacher to the Indians at a place called Martha's Vineyard, desired me very earnestly to recomend hir condition to y^e consideration of you^r [Agents] here for some continuance of allowance for himself & education of hir son; but because y^{ey} could give hir no assurance for the future, I make bold to write to your Hon^r in hir behalfe, y^{at} she might by your favour be considered by yo^r hon^{ble} Corporation for some allowance for the future. Hir husband was one who had wholly devoted himselfe to that Indian worke, & laid such a foundation among those natives of that Iland before mentioned, that the fruit thereof hath beene very great, towards the conversion of those poore heathen many of them, & as I have beene informed it was some respect to that worke y^t made him (though possibly not only that) undertake that voyage when he was lost: he might certainly have beene settled in a better place & condition for the more comfortable supply of his family, if he would have beene taken off that employment. I beseech your hon^r to consider hir condition, & to reco^mend it to the gentlemē of the Corporation for what further continuance of supply shalbe thought fitt to be allowed hir. It caⁿot be bestowed upon an obiect more interested in suffering for the promotinge of that pious worke.

I make bold to send heere inclosed a kind of a Rarity, the first perhaps that your honor hath seene of that sort from such hands: it is two papers of latin composed by two Indians now scollars in the Colledge in this Country, & the writing is wth their owne hands. If your hon^r shall iudge it worth the notice of the Gentlemē of the hon^{ble} Corporation & y^e Royall Society, you may be pleased to give y^m a view of it. Possibly as a novelty of that kind it may be acceptable, being a reall

fruit of that hopefull worke that is begū amongst them, and therewth may please to give me leave to have my humble service presented to them, testifying thus much that I received them of those Indians out of their owne hands, & had ready answers frō them in latin to many questions that I propounded to them in y^t language, & heard them both expresse severall sentences in Greeke also. I doubt not but those honorable *fautores Scientiarū* will gladly receive the intelligence of such *vestigia doctrinæ* in this Wildernesse amongst such a barbarous people: I humbly crave your excuse for deteining your hon^r with these Indian matters, it is but fit once this being y^e first of such kind y^t has beene represented from this remote p^t of y^e world, otherwise should not have presumed upon your patience. I shall not add but my humble Service to your hon^r & the other Gentlemē of the Corporation, & rest, Honorable S^r,

Your most humble & faithfull Servant,

JOHN WINTHROP.

HARTFORD, in New Engl: Nov: 3, 1663.

(Addressed) To the Hon^{ble} ROBERT BOYLE, Esq., Govern^r of y^e Corporation for propagating y^e Gospell in New England, at his house at Chelsy, d.d.

HONORABLE S^r,— After I had taken leave of the Society, I had information that I might confidently stay 2 or 3 daies at London, but next day y^e Ship was gone. So as was ingaged to go presently, &c., yet was at your lodgings, but missed y^e oportunity of receiving your hon^{rs} Comands at my goinge downe, & could defer no longer, &c., & was necessitated to pass in another Ship; nor could take wth me y^e writing about M^r Clarke's businesse left wth Mr. Worsley for your hon^{rs} hand writinge to it. I doe not remember whether your selfe was present wth y^e Council of the Royall Society, when I declared some proposalls concerning a way of trade & banke wthout money, w^{ch} I had formerly hinted to Mr. Hartlib in a letter frō hence, & sometymes to yourself when I was in England, but never had tyme for fuller discourse about the same: & when I mentioned it to that hon^{ble} Council, their tyme was so short y^t y^e discourse could not be read, only a little of the beginninge, but I ingaged to leave a copy for their perusall at their owne conveniency, w^{ch} by reason of shortness of tyme I could no other way have affected but by worthy Mr. Oldenburg's owne trouble to transcribe it himselfe, being not willinge to expose it to any perusall but y^t hon^{ble} Councill & Society, to whose dispose I left that only copy in the hands of the said Mr. Oldenburg y^er Secretary, of his owne transcribinge, & he promised at a convenient season to produce it to the reading & consideration of your hon^{rs} of the Royall Society or their Councill, w^{ch} whether since my cominge thence y^t hon^{ble} Councill have beene pleased to peruse it, or whether it ever came to your pticular view, or whether it doth upon perusall appear to be a foundation of such use for the advance of trade, & setling a sure & easy way

of a banke, y^t the hon^{ble} Society doe thinke fitt to owne, & to promote it to a way of practise, I should willingly understand.* The generall acquaintance & interest y^t they have in the gentry, merchants, & citizens, besides the sufficient insight y^t many of them have into matters of trade & exchange, made me thinke y^t such a designe could no way be better accepted & brought into use than from y^t Royall Society. If it may appeare of publiq use & benifit, they may please to add what they see necessary for the perfectinge thereof: it is wholly their owne: I have given out no copies of it, nor made it knowne to any other. It will most probably be so approved, as from yourselves, that it may be quickly brought into a practical way, to the great advance of trade, & settlement of such a banke, as may answer all those ends y^t are attained in other p^{ts} of the world by bankes of ready money: I mention no particulars, there beinge in y^e discourse w^{ch} was left wth Mr. Oldenburg the modell of what I could see necessary fundamentally for such a designe of trade. If there should be appearance of such approbation as might cause a triall of effectinge a begininge, & some progresse, there might possibly be other additions y^t might be usefull for the proceedinge therein. This I am bold to mention to yourselfe in particular, y^t if there a^ppeare no acceptance as to the promotinge of it amongst gentlemen & merchants to a triall, &c., I might obtaine your hon^{rs} advice whether to move any other way therein by acquainting merchants or others for the settinge it a foote, or to desist further thoughts about it or any further addition to that modell w^{ch} is so far already in writinge.

That there could be no pfect triall of y^e instrument for depths at sea, the motion of the waves unhookes the lead, &c. I wrote Mr. Oldenburg an account of it, w^{ch} hope he hath acquainted the Society. am not unmindefull of y^t Corne, w^{ch} I told your hon^r would ripen sooner, &c., but can yet procure none, but doubt not to have some after, &c. I have nothing else now of intelligence worth your notice, & shall not add but my humble service to your hon^r & rest,

Hon^{ble} S^r, Your most humble servant,

J. W.

HARTF. in N: E: Nov. 6: 1663.

(Addressed) For the Hon^{ble} WILLIAM BRERETON, Esq., at Mr. Raymonds, at y^e White Horse in Lawrence Lane, in London.

WHITEHALL, 30 Apr. 1664.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,—It is no small satisfaction to me that My Noble friend Mr. Nicolls† hath done me the fauor to undertake to de-

* There were no banks in England at this time. "The Bank of England" was not established until 1694. This letter is given from a rough draft.

† General Richard Nicolls arrived in Boston, July 23, 1664, at the head of the Royal Commissioners to New England. Dr. Palfrey says of him: "He was a man of honor. At the breaking out of the Civil War, when he was seventeen or eighteen years old, he gave up his studies at the University, and joined the

liuer you two lines by which I may giue you a testimony of the respect I bear you, & engage you in some measure to acquaint me with the condition of your health, & what other matters you iudge will not be unwellcome to me. I owe him much upon many accounts; but I put a great value upon this fauor of his. And I know no better way how to acquitt myself towards him in this coniuncture then to intreat you may in all things apply & open your self to him, as you would do to the most vertuous person you know, if my strongest coniurations weigh with you. You know him to be a very worthy person, & may be perswaded of all the good offices he can do you. This is purely upon the score of kindness that I giue you this trouble. For Hee being trusted so eminently by his Maiesty in the affaires of these parts, I haue not the least doubt of your respect to him in that regard, or that you will be wanting in any thing wherein you can be usefull towards the advancement of His M^{ties} seruice. And I dare say he hath great confidence in your abilities & vertue, & will be glad to put obligations upon you. But I would be glad that my interposition might not onely encrease that confidence, but settle between you such a friendship as, upon further acquaintance, you may haue the same kindness for one another that I pretend to from either of you. This will be to me such a satisfaction as litle can be added to it, unless it be the happiness to receive from you some occasion to make known to you with how much sincerety & reality I am,

My worthy friend,
Your faithfull humble Servant,

R. MORAY.

(Addressed) For M^r. WINTHROP, in New England.

(Indorsed) S^r Robert Moray.

[Rough copy to Sir Robert Moray at his lodgings at Whitehall.]

HART: Sept. 20: 1664.

HON^{BLE} S^r. — I had had sad & serious thoughts about the unhappiness of the condition of a Wilderness life so remote from the fountains of learning & noble sciences, — the particular Ideas of some classic Heroes representing nothing but sorrowes at the thoughts of their so great distance, — when I was greatly revived wth y^e speciall fauour of yo^r. honor's letter & of the happy arrival of our noble friend Colonell Nicolls. My engagements to your hon^r haue beene formerly very great, & are now much increased. All your comānds are strong obligations, & shalbe attended wth all due observance towards

King's standard, receiving the command of a troop of horse. While the royal family was in exile, he was attached to the person of the Duke of York, and served with him, first under Marshal Turenne, in the War of the Fronde, and afterwards under the Prince de Condé. At the Restoration, he was appointed one of the Duke's gentlemen of the bedchamber; and now, when the lately constituted province, including New Netherlands, should be reduced, he was to administer it as the proprietor's deputy." — *Hist. of New England*, vol. ii. p. 580.

the honourable Colonell, to the greatest of my endeavours to acte a p^{te} so eminently intrusted by his ma^{tie} as you were pleased to announce; and I hope (he) is come for eminent (future) good of these poore plantations. He was pleased at his first arrival at Boston (w^{ch} is about 100 miles frō where I live at present) to favour me with the speedy notice thereof by his letter, & that he intended speedily to goe thence wth his Frigats & wth enough of his smaller ships wth the rest of his ma^{ties} Commissioners to the West end of long Iland, w^{ch} is the nearest to the Dutch. I went thither to wait their coming, & was there at their first arrivall, & continued with them till I sawe y^m possessed of the Fort & towne upon Manatos Iland, w^{ch} was surrendered to his ma^{ties} obedience on Monday the 28th of August last, by peaceable agreement upon articles, without occasion of one drop of blood. The fort is now called Jeames Fort & the towne New Yorke. There is another considerable towne on the same river, far up in the river, w^{ch} is also surrendered to his ma^{ties} obedience, w^{ch} is now called Fort Albany. I am now returned hither, & hope of y^eir cominge shortly into these parts. Otherwise I shall be willinge to make another Journey thither again before. Matters of publike Concernment have been so many & difficult since I came over, & severall occasions preventinge, that, though I have had mē at work about some preparations for a Salt worke, yet could never have tyme to goe to the Sea Side (w^{ch} is about 60 miles frō this place) to make triall of the businesse, but am waitinge some good oportunitye for it, of w^{ch} I may give your hon^r. some account afterwards.

I had a piece of Marcasite w^{ch} seemed to containe copper an Indian brought frō up in y^e country, but there have beene such Warres amonge the heathen in these parts that there could be no travelling that way upon such discoveries, but tyme I hope will give better oportunities. I heare there is peace like to be made amongst those Indians shortly: then there will be oportunity to search that part of the Country, w^{ch} before the Dutch suffered not whilst that land was in their power. I should be glad there could be found any minerall matters of reall worth.

I must be bold to crave the favor of my humble service to the President, my Lord Brunker, & the gentlemen of the Royall Society, & shall only beg the further favor of yo^r comānds when you shall please to write to the hon^{ble}. Gov^r of N. Yorke, that I may still be accounted, Hon^{ble} S^r,

Your most humble & faithful Servant,

J. W.

HARTF: N. ENGL: Sept: 20, 1664.

[Copy of a Letter sent by Barbados to Sir Robert Moray.]

HARTFORD, Jan: 27: 1664.*

HON^{BLE} S^r—In my former I gave your hon^r. an account of the favor I had of your letter by the Hon^{ble}. Colonell Richard Nicolls. I

* This date is old style, and the letter therefore takes its place in 1665.

then omitted to acquaint your honor what now I will be bold to add : that havinge looked upon Jupiter wth a Telescope, upon the 6th of August last, I saw 5 [?] Satellites * very distinctly about that Planet: I observed it wth the best curiosity I could, taking very distinct notice of y^e. nūber of them, by severall aspects wth some convenient tyme of intermission ; & though I was not wthout some consideration whether that fifth might not be some fixt star wth w^{ch} Jupiter might at that tyme be in neare coniunction, yet that consideration made me the more carefully to take notice whether I could discerne any such difference of one of them frō the other foure, y^t might by the more twinkling light of it or any other appearance give ground to believe y^t it might be a fixed starr, but I could discerne nothing of that nature: & I consider that the tube wth w^{ch} I looked upon them, though so good as to shew very clearly the Satellytes, yet was but of 3 foote & halfe wth a concave ey-glasse ; & I question whether by a farre better tube a fixt star can be discerned so near the body of that planet when in the ever bright activity of its light, for, if so, why are there not often if not alwayes seene wth the best tubes the like or more. Is not Jupiter often in neere coniunction wth them, especially *in via lactea* ? I have been in much doubt whether I should mention this, w^{ch} would possibly be taken frō a single affirmation but a mistaken novelty: but I thought I would rather beare such sensure than omitt the notice of it to such worthy friends as might frō the hint of it take occasion to cause more frequent observations to be made upon that planet, & at least this will at length be cleared, whether the light of Jupiter doth not take away the appearance of fixed starrs so neere in coniunction wth it, as that they should appear wthin the periphery of that single *intuitus* by a tube w^{ch} taketh in the body of Jupiter & that at the same unmoved aspect: & I am bold the rather to mention this as an inquiry whether any such nūber of Satellites or moons hath beene seene by your hon^r or Mr. Rooke † or any mathematitians or other gentlemen y^t have good tubes & often have the curiosity to view y^t planet, for possibly it may be new to me w^{ch} hath beene more usually knowne by others, though the notion of such a thinge is not new to my selfe, for I remember I mett wth the like narration many years since in a little booke intituled *Philosophia Naturalis* p Joh. Phociliden, though then I thought that was but a mistake of some fixed starrs. An other thing I make bold to mention, upon occasion of a relation w^{ch} I had lately frō an understanding Seamā, y^t hath beene Master of some vessells & often beene in y^e. West Indies (Mr. John Blackleeche), he affirmed confidently that beinge in y^e. Gulfe of Florida he saw a great Pillar of Water (such as Comonly called Spouts) rise up from the Sea & rise higher till it

* Galileo had discovered the four satellites of Jupiter in 1610, and the number has never been increased. Winthrop, with his little "tube" in the wilderness, might well be distrustful, as he was, of discovering any thing which had eluded the gaze of Galileo.

† Laurence Rooke, the great observer of the satellites of Jupiter, had died at Gresham College, June 27, 1672, on the very night on which he had expected to complete and perfect his observations. Birch's Hist. of R. S., vol. i. p. 98.

joyned itself to a White cloude over it. I urged it to him to be a mistake, & that it was one of those spouts (usuall in y^e Indies & other p^{tes}) that fall from y^e cloudes above: he confidently affirmeth it could be no mistake, his ship was neer & that both himselfe & all in the ship wth one consent judged it to rise out of the Sea. I mention not this out of any credence that it was any other than a mistake, supposinge it to have beene an ordinary spout falling down; yet because of his confidence in y^e affirmation as before upon y^e occasion thereof, I thought fit to comend it to your hon^{rs} consideration, & the Royall Society (if you think it fit), that, if they please, inquiry may be made of severall Captaines or Masters of Ships or other understanding Seamen y^t have often visited the West Indies, what the true originall & mañer of those Spouts are, for, however, they are of a strange nature & wonderfull, & possibly therè wilbe something reported about them & the effects of them that wilbe worth the knowinge. Since my former I have beene againe at New Yorke to give the Hon^{ble} Govern^r. Collonell Nicolls a visit there, & left him wth all there in good health & peace, & have not longe since received a letter frō him w^{ch} signified the continuance of the same. Not far frō thence upon Long Iland there was last sumer, at an English Plantation called Gravesend, 18 oxen killed at once all together wth lightnige: & at a plantation called Stratford, as I was goinge last to N: Yorke, I saw a great tall oake that was stripped of so much of the barke as the breadth of foure fingers frō the very uppermost small top of one of the highest bowes to the very bottom of the tree at the ground, — that breadth I measured by my hand as high as I could reach, but by the iudgement of the eye it might be narrower upward accordinge to the proportion of the bodye & bowes upward, but no p^{te} of the other barke, nor the body of the tree hurt by it, & all that breadth that was taken off, it was in a kind of spirall line ruñinge at least six or 8 tymes about the tree & bowes frō the top bow to the roote of the tree.

But I have beene too prolix in these discourses, for w^{ch} I presume I may have your hon^{rs} excuse, & shall not add further.

J. W.

ALBURY, near Oxford, 19 Dec., 1665.

MY WORTHY FRIEND, — The good character I haue receiued from him that deliuered you my last,* & the great esteem hee hath of your persone and friendship, doth not onely oblige me to acquaint you with the satisfaction I receiue by it not onely upon the publick and diuerse other accounts, but to tell you that I am not a litle proud I had some litle lende a hand in your acquaintance. Which I do not doubt, but is cultivate by both to your mutuall satisfaction.

But I would gladly be allowed to complain to you that in so long a time as you have been in those parts, and haue, I doubt not, acquired new knowledge as well as practised the old, you do not acquaint none of your friends hereaway with any thing you haue don, found out, or

* General Richard Nicolls.

do designe * nor giue them any account of such matters as you are very well able to do; that is the peeces of Naturall History, philosophical matters, Inventions, & Mechanick practises; nor any thing of Minerall businesses. If you would not be chid, you must be at some more trouble to correspond with friends here, amongst whom, if there be any thing wherein so insignificant a person can serue you, no body will with greater readiness & affection do it than,

My Worthy friend,
Your reall affectionate Seruant,

R. MORAY.

(Addressed) For Mr WINTHROP.

(Indorsed) Sr Robert Moray. Rec: Dec. 1667.

ALBURY, near OXFORD, 19 Dec. 1665.

DEAR DICK,†—When you call to minde the packett you sent me in January last, & finde it hath been so long unanswered, unless you think it hath not been deliured, your good opinion of me and my kindness to you will ly under a shrewd temptation. But as I think you will not readily condemn me, so I doubt not but you will haue, euer since the time past wherein you might reasonably haue expected to haue heard from me, been deuising to yourself excuses for my iustification. It will be a part of my answer to lay out some of them to you: and others of them will serue for a short prospect of things past since I had your letter.

As soon as I receaved it, I sought an opportunity to speak with your Noble friend & mine the E. Barclay; and had it oftner than once. I soon found the confidence you haue in his friendship is well grounded. I read to him both your letters to E. Kincardin & me, and discoursed with him on every point of them. Hee was exceedingly taken with euery particular you mention, approued all your actings & designes, & resolu'd to go seriously & actiuelly about euery thing you proposed & desired so far as it lay in his power to compasse it. And for that end, seing it seemes [?] he did conceive that none other of your letters that hee had seen did so fully & clearly express the state of things where you are & what was fit to be considered & done for preseruing & improuing of euery advantage that place affords, Hee did desire to haue your letters to shew to the Duke, & the lord high Chancelor, that upon discoursing of all things from the grounds the

* It will be seen by subsequent letters that some of Winthrop's early communications had been lost at sea, and others had reached their destination eleven or twelve months after date. This letter of Sir Robert Moray's would seem from the indorsement to have reached Winthrop about two years after it was written! Indeed, Winthrop begins a long letter to Sir Robert Moray about "Mineralls," of which there is only a rough draft, by telling him, "It was in Decr 1667, when I received yours of 19th Decr 1665"!

† This letter was undoubtedly addressed to General Richard Nicolls, a great friend of Sir R. Moray, and Nicolls must have sent it to Winthrop, among whose papers the original is found.

letters gaue, hee might raise their esteem of them and encourage a speedy & effectuall setting forward of euery thing necessary to be done for the maintenance & defense of the place, the promoting of Trade, the improvement of all improvable, the incouragement of the Inhabitants, and your particular satisfaction.

What success hee had, & what hath followed upon it, hee will haue told you, & you will haue seen. Howeuer this was all the seruice I thought I could do you, hauing had from you no particular hint of doing any thing else about court for your advantage.

Your letters being returned me, I sent them both to Scotland to E. Kincardin; by whose answer you will see what is to be expected of the proposition you made him. It was long before I had it. Inso-much that, thinking till I had it my answer to yours to me would be very lame, and in the mean time the Court being remoued from London, the Lord Barclay gone Northward with his Master & I westward and being ignorant which way to conuey a letter to you, I forbore writing. E. Kincardins letter came to my hande at Salisbury, and not hauing seen the L^d Barclay till after we had been a pretty while at Oxford, I neuer had hopes of getting a letter sent to you, till hee undertook it, and so now I write under his Cover.

If all I have hitherto said prevail not to satisfy you as to my long silence, I am at your mercy. For I will not alleadge to you business, employments, or other such impediments, myne own heart will not admitt of those for excuses, being fraught with a measure of kindnesse for you, & zeal for the good of your persone and employment that would haue made me break through all those bands if I had known how. Nor therefore shall I need to say I could at best do you but small seruice in writing: for I ow it to your satisfaction, who cannot but be well pleased to hear from your friends.

Hetherto all will look by the preface, though it be somewhat materiall. But I do intend to speak to euery point of your letter besides what occurs; beeing willing to bestow an hour upon you, for my own sake.

It very much pleaseth me that you haue found M^r Winthorp usefull: and I do much applaud your usage of him. I doubt not but hee hath by this time been seruiceable to you in seuerall other matters that were not in agitation when you wrote to me. Your letter of Jan. 27, 1664, being that before me at present, mentions another wherein it seemes you had mentioned at more large what relates to M^r Winthorp. But it neuer came to my hands. I should therefore be glad to know by your next what I do not yet of all matters between you: and in the meantime, I giue you the trouble of delivering to him this inclosed wherein I express to him my satisfaction in what you tell me of him, & invite him to giue me some account of improvements, Inventions, Minerall & other philosophical matters.

I haue already touched to you as much of what past between the E. Barclay & me as will shew you I had reason to do what I did: for I could not by any other way take measure of the purpose the King & Duke haue than by speaking with him: & vpon that, hee being so well

pleased with the thing & forward to do what you desired, I thought I was sufficiently authorised not to let your representments, propositions, advyces & desires fall to the ground, though I cannot tell till I hear from you again what aduantage the course I took may haue produced to you.

It was no small contentment to me to find you so well pleased with the healthfullness & improuableness of the Country where your lot is falln. The one promises worke for your industry, & the other a happy enioyment of the fruit of your labour, on all which I wish blessings from heauen.

What you tell me of Minerall matters seemes to me of very great consequence. I am hopefull you haue by this time a good account to giue of those discoveries of Golden earth & Quicksilver, and could wish you sent me hither samples, that is parcells of every kind of minerall you meet with, be it earth, clay, sand, stones, or what else soeuer, and in good quantity. For I am at this very time with the Kings allowance retired from Court for a time to amuse myself in a priuat place, where I am about some chymicall experiments, intending to bestow som tryalls upon some improuements that may collaterally take in others: the one to extract from lead ore all the metall it contains, with one wash (?), great ease & small charge; the other to do the same in extracting siluer out of lead with the same aduantages when the lead holds so much as may be worth the paines. I do not promise my self great success: but I am sure it would be of great use if it pleased God I lighted vpon the way of doing it, and I am the more ready to apply my self to this that I am in a fair way to engage my self & some of my friends in the siluer mines, as they call them, in Cardiganshire in Wales, which haue formerly yielded much siluer, & ly now under water which is to be taken off with Adits that are now carrying up to the Mines.

If you light upon a Vein or Mine of Quicksiluer, it will be of great profit, that is if there be store of it, which I shall be exceeding glad to know. I know it is a braue commodity for Peru; and that if wee haue a Friendship with Spain, which I belieue may well come to pass, store of it may be vented there. But it is possible, I may aduise some what else ere long, if I find you light upon any considerable way to furnish good quantity of it.

I need not offer aduyce as to the searching out those mines, onely let me tell you, that Quicksiluer is commonly found in a red earth wherein sometimes little of it appeares to the eye, though store is to be got out of it. And lead will be in gray blue & blackish earths, as well as in Glistening & shyning ones, and all of these may hold good quantities of siluer. This is all I shall now say of this matter, but will be ready to say more when you giue me cause. It were good a particular account [*torn*] kindes of woods you haue thereaway [*torn*] but of all other sortes. Withall [*torn*] &c., and what else conduces to [*torn*] a particular survey might be made, and samples of useful woods as grow not in England nor Scotland sent hither. One sort of Timber I hear there is in Jamaica, the properest in the world for

shipping, because hard, large, & is for euer free from all sortes of wormes either wett or dry. But if I go on at this rate I shall neuer haue done.

To tell you truly, I am very much satisfied with all you represent, & think your reasonings strong & adyce good. But to do more for making them take than I haue would but be labour lost, but still on all occasions I minde the lord Barclay of those matters, being unfitt & unable indeed to procure any thing of this Kinde to be so much as taken into consideration, nor need I insist upon explicating the reason to you. Onely as things stand I cannot say there is any probability of allowing trade between you & Holland: Nor indeed, though connivance were Secured, is it lykely the Hollanders will be permitted by the States to drive any trade with you. I need not enlarge vpon the political complications on either side. You can easily light upon them with a little reflection.

By this long answer which is not yet at an end, you may judge your long letters will not tyre me: but I am affrayed my uselessness to you may make you weary of corresponding with me, who am not onely apt to put good constructions on what you say or do, but to imploy all my philosophy & other faculties to do you good seruice, and thus I haue run ouer yours to me [*torn*] that to your Cousin giues me any thing to [*torn*] read it over, that I need say any [*torn*] Cousins engageing vpon a Trade such [*torn*] all that can be said, vnless it be that the business of Trade between England & Scotland is not yet regular, & though there were peace tomorrow with Holland, till the other be at a period, that alone is sufficient to barre Trade from Scotland with you. Yet if wee were friends with Holland with a litle time, if any in Scotland will go about what you propose, I presume private licenses may be obtained for it. Therefore it will not be amiss wee hear now & then from you, & so shall you from me as often at least as I hear from you, & in shorter time after the receipt of yours than this return hath been, if it please Almighty God.

I know not with whom you hold strict and constant correspondence, but I suppose you are informed from here of what passes, at least so far as it is publick. But were it left to me to acquaint you with what you might desire to know from hence, I am as unfit a Tool for that as can be imagined. For litle do I know, but less do I inquire into any kind of business. But if you will haue a conjecture not drawn from starres nor Cometes nor founded vpon politicall speculations, further than is obuious to one that sees now and then a printed Gazette,—to me it lookes not improbable that wee shall haue warre with France as well as Holland, and by consequence a friendship with Spain, which if wee haue, one may presume to say it will admitt us further into the West Indian commerce with the Spanish Territories there, then ever any body beside themselves had.

Before I close I must ad a word to [*torn*] to set some body on work to discover all things that [*torn*] natural History of Mines, plants, Fishes [*torn*] the place where you are affords and [*torn*] your frinds here, and if in [*torn*] or lights they can giue you, when you put them to it, you may expect all the satisfaction they can giue you.

Now I haue been as longe I suspect as you can wish, and would haue you from this very transgression to draw an argument, that I think the time & paines well employed that may serve in any measure to confirm you in the good opinion you haue of,

Dear Dick,

Your faithfullest servant,

R. MORAY.

You may let Mr. Winthrop know what I say to you, especially of Minerall matters.

[Copy of Letter to Mr. Robert Boyle.]

Oct: 29: 1666. [Boston.]

HON^{BLE} S^r — I reioyce much to heare by Mr. Ashurst of your recovery out of some sicknesse w^{ch} he informed me you had beene under at Oxford. I am out of hope you had any letters frō myselfe last yeare; for I heare since I came to this towne that Mr. Gillams ship, in w^{ch} Col. Cartwright returned, being taken by the Dutch, all letters were cast in to the Sea. I wrote of severall matters to your hon^r largely, of w^{ch} I hope to giue againe an account shortly, but, havinge not the copies of the particulars heere, I must deferr till an other oportunity. I had prepared divers things of this country last yeare for the view of the Gentlemen of the Royall Society, but the casualties of the Sea whō can prevent? I hope to recruite most of them against better tymes, w^{ch} then shalbe directed to y^r hon^r. & them frō

Your most humble Servant,

J. W.

I make bold to present my hūble service to the hon^{ble} Govern^r & other Gentlemen of the Society. I have one of those little tracts about the Comet w^{ch} I herewth make bold to present to y^r hon^r. I had provided many of the same last yeare, w^{ch} are gone with the rest, but shall endeavour to procure more.

There is also heere inclosed a Narrative of the strange march of a French Army in the very depth of winter frō Canada, w^{ch} alarmed all our inland plantations, who were prepared for them, but they returned in greater haste than they came. This was sent me frō Colonell Rich: Nicolls, who collected & penned the true relation of it.

LONDON, Octob. 13, 1667.

SIR, — So good an opportunity as this I could not let passe w^hout putting you in mind of y^r being a member of y^e Royall Society, though you are in New-England; and that even at so great a distance you may doe that Illustrious Company great service. You cannot but remember both y^r generall Obligation to them, when you were received, of contributing what you could to promote the dessein and end of their Institution; and also y^r particular Engagements, of communicating to them all the Observables both of Nature and Art, y^t occur in the place, you are, and especially such as concern the Mines of that contry, and y^r ingenious way of making salt out of sea-water by a cheap and speedy method; w^{ch}, if I mistake not very much, you seemed here resolved to try in New England. I am persuaded the R. Society, who

retains still a particular respect and kindnesse for you, will receaue what shall come from you of that nature, or any other, wth no ordinary affection and thankfulnesse. S^r, you will please to remember that we have taken to taske the whole Viiverse, and that we were obliged to doe so by the nature of our Dessein. It will therefore be requisite that we purchase and entertain a commerce in all parts of y^e world wth the most philosophical and curious persons, to be found everywhere. We know y^r ingenuity, experience, and veracity, y^e best qualities of a man and a Philosopher; and we doubt not but you will let us share in the happy fruits and products thereof. And, since you have now been from us severall years, give us at last a visit by a Philosophicall letter. The Bearer hereof will doubtlesse give you the use of y^e printed History of y^e R. Society;* by w^{ch} you will find what progres they have made hitherto, and what they have further in designe. The Author seems to write so, as if he breathed in much of y^e soule of that noble Body. And as for me, if I am not much mistaken in the genius and cutt of y^e bulk of English Worthyees, I see ground enough to presage that this Society will be fast rooted, grow, and thriue to y^e wonder of others, the immortal fame of y^mselves, and y^e important benefit of this Island and whole Mankind.

I presume to transmit you some of the Transactions I monthly publish, to inform the curious what passeth up and downe in the world in matter of knowledge and Philosophy. You will find in some of y^m sets of inquiries concerning Agriculture, Observables in a Contry, Mines, y^e Sea, Cold, etc. I make it my request to you, that you would not think it a trouble, upon the perusall of them, to employ y^rselfe in giuing or procuring us some good answers to as many of y^m as you can. It will be, and be esteemed, a very great service to our work; and you will by doing so oblige exceedingly y^e publick as well as, Sir,

Y^r very affectionate and faithfull servant,

HENRY OLDENBURG, *Reg. Soc. Secret.*

In the Palmall in St. James's fields.

S^r, I persuade myself y^t you, who know so well the vselesnes of y^e notional and disputacious School philosophy, will make it a good part of y^r businesse to recommend this reall Experimental way of acquiring knowledge, by conversing with, and searching into the works of God themselves; and that you will endeavour, and y^r ingenious and sober friends, to season and possesse the youth of New England with y^e same.

(Addressed) For his much honored friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esq.,
Gouernour of Conectecut, in New England.

(Indorsed) Mr. Oldenburg. 1667, rec. July.

S^r.—I was very glad when lighting lately into y^e company of that worthy Gñ den Heer Peter Stuyvesandt, I understood you were so

* Bishop Sprat's History was just published.

well acquainted together, & forthwith I gave notice thereof to y^e Secretary of y^e R. S. from whom, by this meanes, you are now herewithall to receive this by-going packet, & thereby, you see, the Company hath been mindefull of the maine scope still, & is advancing from time to time in their generous & noble undertakings, more indeed than could have been expected in regard of y^e late grand disasters, under which the Nation & Citty hath been so sadly struggling these three or four yeares. Now most of those difficulties & discouragements, being through Gods mercy & grace in a most hopefull condition, & either surmounted already, or in a fair way of being surmounted, it cannot but much cherish & encourage all those, wherever they are, who have any share & interest in laying & advancing these noble grounds, for Mankinds improving the Treasures God hath communicated to them so abundantly throughout all the world, & that we may y^e more enjoy & prayse his goodnesse, serving Him & one another with all chearfullnesse & industry, & ever thereby more & more reconciling y^e estrangednesse of y^e mindes of mankinde amongst themselves, that they may be willing to listen to more & more & still better Truths & Union. We cannot doubt but you have made a good progresse since your being heer, to this end & purpose, & great are y^e expectations heer of them y^e know your abilities & publick-spirited disposition to see once a good return come in from you into the common Treasure of y^e Society, & perhaps from divers others too in your parts, whom by yo^r example, & the worthinesse of the Designe, their own generous Genius may have encouraged & engaged in the like studies & endeavours, & readinesse of communication. However the History, now come to yo^r hands, & account of the proceedings hitherto, will doubtlesse revive & quicken you much to minde your Engagem^t & Interest, & by your meanes excite & animate many others also to consort & cooperate for y^e advancem^t of so universall a Benefit as y^e Scope of this Societie holds forth, & their Endeavours promise to all y^e world. I finde a great inclination in Myn Heer Stuyvesandt to contribute likewise freely to this purpose, as well he may from his long experience in most of those Western parts; you will be pleased to encourage & engage him more & more, & order it so between you, that we may have frequent intelligence from you, & you shall not want returns. I write by him to Mr. Morlaen, to bring them acquainted, & to present M^r Morlian an opportunitie to renew his acquaintance with you. I shall adde no more now, S^r, but that I shall be ready & glad to doe you all the Service I can, when you shall be pleased to make use of me, praying Almighty God to blesse & prosper you abundantly, & resting, Most honoured S^r,

Your most humble Servant,

THEODORE HAAK.

WESTMINSTER at y^e Romer in King-Street this 29th of Octob. 1667.

(Addressed) For his much honoured & worthy ffrend
JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^r,
Govern^r of Conecticut in New England.

(Indorsed) M^r. Theodore Haack,
rec. July 1668.

HARTFORD, in New England, Aug. 18 : 1668.*

HONORABLE S^R, — It was in Decemb: 1667, when I received yours of the 19th of Dec: 1665, frō Alberry neere Oxford. And Colonell Nicolls, by whose favour I had it not long after it came to his hands, wrote me y^t he had received it from Virginia the 26 of Novemb: last, inclosed in a letter to himselfe of the same date. This was the only letter I received frō your Hono^r, since that of w^{ch} I had the favour by him at his first arrivall. I wrote severall letters, but heare not whether they were received, and have now certaine intelligence of the losse of all those letters of 2 severall yeares, w^{ch} were sent in such ships as were most hopefull to passe safe in those troublous tymes: one was Capt: Gilham's ship, wherein Colonell Cartwright, one of his Ma^{ties} Comissioners, returned. That ship was taken, & all the letters were throwne into the sea, and I suppose Colonell Nicolls had his letters, besides the letters, & writings of consequence from his Ma^{ties} Hon^{ble} comissioners were all lost, of w^{ch} you may be informed frō the Colonell himselfe: an other yeare since, Capt: Scarlett, an acquaintance of mine, in the winter tyme, going for Boston in New England, was cast away, his ship lost, and all his letters as also his whole cargo and divers of his seamē, and he escaped wth his owne life wth much difficulty. Being now assured, by his owne letter, of Colonell Nicolls his resolution shortly to returne to London, the sorrowfull aspect, of the removall of so noble a freind, doth greatly seize upon my heart: and indeed the people not only of that colony, both English and Dutch, but of the neighbouring places also, are really sorrowfull at the report of his departure frō that place, being as sencible of their losse thereby, as they were of y^e good effects they saw frō his wisdom & great abilities w^{ch} have appeared in all his administrations. I shall not now repeat what was mētioned in former letters, except some little about mineralls, though I may be assured that all w^{ch} were sent came not to your hands. I have beene very inquisitive after all sorts of mineralls, w^{ch} this wilderness may probably affoord; but indeed the constant warrs, w^{ch} have continued amongst the Indians since I came last over, hath hindred all progresse in searching out such matters, for some of them w^{ch} have formerly brought any specimens of that kind were kild in the warr, and others, who pretend to know places of likely appearance, dare not goe up into y^e country wthout strong parties: those places w^{ch} have beene for present of most hopes for D^o† and v[‡] are best knowne to the Hon^{ble} Colonell Nicolls, who, I beleeve, hath indeavoured much for the finding such places, and will tell you what hath unhappily fallen out to the hinderāce of the full discovery of somthing that possibly would have beene of better worth then hath beene before knowne in these p^{ts} of America, and will also lett you know the impossibility almost that full discoveries should be made, whiles these Indiā warrs continue; he hath laboured much (and I have not beene wanting therein) to settle peace amongst them, but all hitherto in vaine. Better

* This is one of the letters from the files of the Royal Society.

† Silver.

‡ Mercury.

tymes may promote better discoveries, for w^{ch} we must waite. Those shewes of mineralls, w^{ch} we have frō the Indians, doe only demonstrate that such are in reality in the country, but they usually bring but small prices, w^{ch} are found accidentally in their huntings, sticking in some rock or on the surface of the earth, on the side of some hill, or banke of a river; but they seldom speake of any great quantity where they find it, nor can they in likelihood meet wth a solid veine of good mettall, w^{ch} usually lyeth deepe in the earth, never opened by them, nor have they meanes to doe it, therfor cannot know what is in those bowells, except where an earthquake hath shaken downe the side of an hill, or made some rent among y^e Rocks. Something in that kind of good probability, I hope, hath bene further inquired into by the worthy Colonell since I heard frō him; and I expect some further discovery about copper when I cā meet an Indiā whō I expect to find yf he be not slaine, and what shall further be in that kind discovered I hope to acquaint your Hon^r, who am depely ingaged to be ever wth my cheife indeavours, & in great sincerity,

Your most humble servant,

J. WINTHROP.

Postscript, Aug: 26, 1668.

Concerning the Iron stone of these parts and the Iron works, I forbear to mention any thing againe now about those matters, having written largely formerly, as also concerning lead and great probabilities of lead mines, and something about copper and some considerable expences bestowed rashly upon trialls of a stone that holdeth (as is supposed) some small quantity of that mettall: as also what trialls have bene made by digging into the earth, and through some rocks, in hope of good mettalls, of all w^{ch} I may hope againe to recollect my thoughts about those particulars, of w^{ch} I have formerly written, that I may againe give your hon^r a renewed collection of those matters, some other oportunity; and something I should mention concerning the tydes, but, living far up frō the sea side, I have wanted oportunityes to make fitt observations my selfe, and have not yet obtained, after much inquiry, such a satisfactory account of those very great tydes in the Bay of Fundo of Nova Scotia, most seamen that have bene there differing so much in their reports about it that I dare not write any thing of the particulars of the quantity of the flud & ebb, and swiftnesse of the current of those tydes, till I have had better satisfaction about them, w^{ch} I doe indeavour upon all good oportunities, but it is certaine that the water floweth and ebbeth much in that sea, above all the other places of these parts, that I heare of. There is a place not far frō N. yorke, w^{ch} the dutch call *Hell gæt*, w^{ch} is a narrow passage betweene the Rocks of the Ilands by w^{ch} the tydes have their course, frō whence the Sound groweth wide on both sides, and the tyde passeth there in that strange mañer that it maketh it very dangerous for vessells to passe through exept neere high water, or low water; w^{ch} because I have not viewed it of late yeares, nor remember ynough to give a pfect account of the mañer of it, I shall desire your Hon^r to receive a more pfect descrip-

tion of it, then I can demōstrate, frō our noble friend Colonell Nicolls, frō whom you will have such a full relation of the strange course and effects of the tides of that place that will (I doubt not) be to the good satisfaction of your selfe, and the Royal Society, to whom I beseech your Hon^r my faithfull hūble service may be presented, who shall ever subscribe myselfe, Honorable S^r,

Your most Hūble Servant,

J. WINTHROP.

Aug. 26, 1668.

As I passed on a journey towards Newhaven on thursday last the 19 of this month, I am informed by credible psons, who were ey witnesses of the same, that the said thursday an houre before sun sett there was seene at Wethursfeild, a plantation upon the River of Coñecticut, there passed over an incredible multitude of flies: they say they were like those flies w^{ch} usually light upon the horses about their head & neck: they say they appeared to be in a continued flight about a mile broad & a mile an halfe in length, & flew frō the north directly towards the south downe the meadowes, as the course of that river tendeth. One who was coming to that place mett wth them a mile below, and the whole swarme, the last of it, was scarse passed over his head, when he was come to the towne: and its like their flight was swifter than his travaile. I shall make further inquiry about it.

(Addressed) For the Honorable S^r Robert Moray Knight & baronet at his lodgings at White Hall, d.d.

HARTFORD, in New England, Nov. 12, 1668.

S^r,—I have received your very acceptable letters w^{ch} had passed from London to Amsteldam, and thence to New-Yorke, in the hands of Heere Peter Stiivesant, together wth the History of the Royall Society, and many sheetes of these phylosophicall transactions (the excellent fruit of your indefatigable industry, the worlds benefitt, that publication of thē) (*Dona mihi auro pretiosiora*): they were all, after so long a progresse, sent hither from Boston by the carefull direction of y^t worthy gentlemā, who had comitted them to a trusty friend going thither frō New Yorke. I am deeply ingaged to your selfe for so great a kindness: I had not received any letter nor intelligence frō you divers yeares, w^{ch} made me feare some great change: but have now the joyfull satisfaction of your welfare. I have written often, but I perceive y^e accidents of these evill tymes have disapointed, (*si bellū dixeris, omnia mala dixeris*). It hath beene brought back to us for great certainty, that when Capt. Gillam's ship was taken in the tyme of the warre (in w^{ch} ship Colonell Cartwright, one of his Ma^{ties} Coñissioners, returned towards London, and in w^{ch} most of the letters frō this country were w^{ch} greatest confidence for safety sent) those letters by that ship were all lost. I doe not heare frō any one freind of one letter that tyme received. It is said the seamen of y^t ship w^{ch} tooke them did throw

overboard all letters & writings w^{ch} they found, that they might be sure none of them should discover what goods were in the ship, that so they might impropriate to themselves the more, & not be called to an account about such particulars as might have been knowne by letters, bills of loading or invoices. I have heard that the govern^r of New yorke and his Ma^{ties} other Honorable Comissioners lost all their letters & writings (some of them of great importance). This I have frō a confident report, but they may be spoken wth themselves about White Hall, I suppose, some of them, Colonell Nicolls the Govern^r being returned thither this last summer.* The like fate had all those the next year in Capt. Scarletts ship, w^{ch} was cast away on the English shore by tempestuous weather in the way frō this country to London; and he told me since that all the letters were also lost, together wth all the goods in the ship, and w^{ch} is most to be lamented divers of his men were drowned by that shipwreck. The capt: & some of his men escaped that dāger of their lives by the good hand of the Almighty: had former letters beene delivered, they would have informed of a former disappointment also of a large packet w^{ch} was sent overland towards Boston, the place of the usuall resorte of shipping, by a footmā (who used often to travaile upon y^t account), but, it being in the beginning of the winter, was forced back by a great snow (w^{ch} fell sooner then some other yeares): after he was gone part of the way, the snow began to be so deepe y^t he could not proceed, but hasted back: yet the storme was so violent, and the frost sō sharpe also, that he escaped hardly wth his life, his feet being much frozen: the letters so wet & torne y^t could not be fitt for an other conveyance, if any had beene, but all passing was stopped till spring; that packet was deferred to that late tyme of y^e yeare, upon some speciall reason w^{ch} would therwth have appeared, not needfull to be now mentioned.

I have beene the more large in shewing you the very pticulars of the certainty of the miscarjng of letters so many tymes, that you may know my great disapointments, w^{ch} I may imagine may be the cause that freinds have deferred their comānds for some tyme, yet hath now of late occasioned me that favour in your letter, to be putt in mind that I am a member of the Royall Society. It was impossible for me to forgett the happinesse of y^t station, when for that short time I sojourned in London they were pleased to permitt me to wait upon them at Gresham Colledge (unworthy I acknowledge of y^t Honour), nor can I possibly (though thus farre distant) forgett my duty to that Society. It is my constant sorrow that (*penitus toto orbe divisus*) my great remotenesse makes [me] so little capable of doing them that service to w^{ch} my desires & indeavours have beene and are greatly fixed & devoted. Had former letters & collections of such mean things as could be had in such a wilde place as this arrived, it might have appeared y^t I had beene gathering frō many parts of this wilder-

* "Nicolls went home in 1668, and resumed his place in the Duke of York's household. He was killed, May 28, 1672, in the naval engagement at Solebay, and his remains lie under the chancel of the church of Ampthill, in Bedfordshire." — *Palfrey's New England*, vol. ii. p. 624, note.

nesse: and there had beene the relation of some observables fallen out in these parts, & of other matters w^{ch} were then thought of, as y^t might have beene considerable: there were some sheetes in that ship, w^{ch} was taken, I should not have beene willing they should have fallen into such hands, into w^{ch} they might have come, repenting often that I had lett goe such writing out of my hands till I heard the story of that policy of the seamen before mentioned, and it was good satisfaction to my mind to be certaine that the sea had those papers & letters, rather then that they should have beene so otherwise disposed of then I could have desired; and since those discouragmēt, I have thought it more expedient to reserve the mention of some hopefull considerations to an other tyme, of such oportunities as might helpe the Theory into some usefull practicall accōplishment. As for those collections, it is but as the tyme of the submitting them adiourned, for most (I hope) wilbe recruited, many I have already collected, and am adding more as occasions are presented, but it is my trouble to find so few in these colonies worth the notice of the Royall Society. I wish I could tell you some certainty of any good mines in this North America. I have made as carefull and diligent inquiry as I could, and might have travailed further hopefully therein, had not the continued warres amongst the Indians wholly hitherto disapointed all such discoveries, two of the cheifest nations of the natives being in so great a feud, that it hath ingaged all the inferiour Sachems & parties of these heathen on the one side or the other, frō the Easterne sea of New England & Canada through the whole continent almost as farre as Virginia, of w^{ch} I had written before more largely, & pticularly to an honorable gentlemā, a mēber of the Royall Society. There lieth this no small discouragement about inquiry after mines here: we may suppose y^t if Rich they lie usually deepe in y^e bowells of the earth, and although some * pregnant signes upon the supficies may give hopes and probabilities, & possibly scattering pieces may be casually found of metallic substance, yet there may be great uncertainty to find a continuing veine. Great sūmes may be expended, & yet misse thereof, as hath beene in England & other parts, in knowne minerall grounds, w^{ch} have round about them good veines, w^{ch} are dayly wrought upon to much profit, as where they have the lead, &c. Some (I have heard) spende much & misse, others hitt upon a profitable discovery: it would not be likely to induce psons, especially our Planters, to adventure much upon such probabilities, w^{ch} they cānot looke into by their owne iudgment: there have beene some attempts, but profit not presently appearing, soone discouraged & given over: it may be God reserves such of his bounties to future generations. Plantations in their be-ginnings have worke ynough, & find difficulties sufficient to settle a comfortable way of subsistence, there beinge buildings, fencings, cleering and breakinge up of ground, lands to be attended, orchards to be

* This letter as far as this word is from the Archives of the Royal Society. The remainder, being missing from their copy, has been supplied from the rough original draft.

planted, highways & bridges & fortifications to be made, & all thinges to doe, as in the beginninge of the world. Its not to be wondered if there have not yet beene *itineræ subterraneæ*. And all matters hitherto have been carried on by the planters wth their private estates without any such aids, as Virginia had to assist them in their beginnunge,—very large contributions, as I have heard. Might the twentieth part of such a stocke be employed heere about minerall discoveries, I should hope it would not be fruitlesse.

I find in your letter an inquiry about Salt Workes, w^{ch}, had a former writinge come to your hand, might have beene in some measure satisfied. I had made preparations presently after I came over for experiments, but, havinge found another way to my better satisfaction, I thought it needlesse to spend tyme & charge about further trialls of any formerly mentioned or intended, considering that old maxim, *frustra fit per plura*, &c.;* & being well satisfied of the certainty by such small trialls as I could have oportunity to make, I intended & applied myselfe to preparations for a large worke, yet had writte some lines upon these small trialls w^{ch}, too suddenly perished with other papers, & since, upon further consideration, I think it not so suitable to mention more againe about it till by the experiment of a great worke, well compleated, &c., a true estimate of the profit by the effects may answer all doubts. I had prepared, moreover, for such a compleat triall, w^{ch}, if it could have been attempted, the Royall Society should have had an account of it, but it hath beene hitherto constantly retarded by some unavoidable *remoraes*. One is my necessary absence frō the sea side most part of the yeare, & every yeare since I came last from England, my usuall habitation beinge at Hartford, upon the river of Conecticut, up high into the inland country, somewhat remote frō y^e sea coasts, about 130 miles frō Boston. I am much endeavoringe a vacaney frō other occasions, that I may spend more tyme neere the sea coasts, to improve some former preparations, w^{ch}, if effected, may be practically demonstrative. I need not mention other concurring diversions besides one very grave & serious, w^{ch} is some extraordinary losses I have had: for, besides severall to the value of 2,000 pounds, I had a particular losse & great disappointment thereby in a Londō ship taken by De Ruiter at Nevis, when he was there wth his fleet, in w^{ch} ship goods to a considerable quantity were shipped upon my account for London, & all a booty to him, to my great detriment farr beyond the worth of the same, though too much to loose (*pacem te poscimus omnes*). My brother also, who had shipped that upon my account, & wth whom my future correspondence should have beene usefull, was ruined by the French & driven from his plantations, loosinge a great estate, both at Christophers, & in his goods & sugar-works at Antigua, & his Negroes there, having settled his chief plantations there; but who knowes the Issues of Divine Providence! Possibly I might have buried more in an uncertaine mine (w^{ch} I fancied more than salt), had

* The old Latin maxim is: "*Frustra fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora.*"

not such accidents prevented. The ordinary estates w^{ch} we have in plantations cannot readily be converted into such as may suit with correspondence wth Europe, or carying on such works as require the labour & helpe of such artificers & workmen, who expect pay of the commodities of England, or such as will presently procure them; but I hope I may notwithstanding proceed to the cōpleating of that I had intended, if tyme & opportunity may suit. I had also written formerly some new notions about findinge the longitude at sea, having had experience often of the danger & inconvenience of that defect in long sea voyages, w^{ch} had put me sometymes upon that study; but, that writinge beinge also perished, I am thinking it best to be silent about that matter at present, it being yet but in the Theory, especially as to an experiment by practicall observations in a long sea voiage, w^{thout} w^{ch} it were not fitt to affirme a certainty:—yet because I cannot thus conferr wth you every day, I may presume to lett you know that I am still seriously meditatinge of that & some other desiderata (of w^{ch} I may possibly give a better account hereafter), & may tell you of my hopes that a plaine practicable way may be found for the longitude as well as the latitude at sea. Our vessells from these ports have great disappointments; sometymes havinge no certainty of their longitude, fall to leeward of their port, w^{ch} because of the current is irrecoverable, & their voyage overthrowne. The findinge Barmudas is more difficult by the same defect of that knowledge. I have knowne some return from their voyage thither intended, who, after long tyme beatinge every way for it, could not find it.

I had written also some additions to what I left formerly with the Royal Society about y^e Indian Corne, as also about a new way of making Tarr, w^{ch} was directed to the honorable Mr. Boyle (besides about many other matters to him), as supposing there might be a good employment for Indians therein, together wth an experiment for making charcole by y^e same labour, & an addition about a new way for charcole of any & all sorts of wood, respecting chiefly the furtherance of Iron workes. There was besides these in another letter a new way of making Potashes directed to Mr. Breerton, who I heare lately is now Lord Breerton, as also concerninge a speciall kind of the Indian Corne Maies, w^{ch} may be planted very late in y^e sumer, above a month after the ordinary sorte, & yet be ripe as soone as that,—w^{ch} may probably ripen well in England, if planted there,—this also directed to the right hon^{ble} the now Lord Brereton, & another to the same effect directed to the hon^{ble} Mr. Charles Howard, & some of the eares of that Corne intended to be sent to them p^ticularly, who I know would plant it if they had it, besides a good nūber more of these eares intended wth other collections before mentioned to y^e Royall Society. I had procured an eare or 2 of it from a remote northern p^te of the Country, & every year since had it planted to preserve the seed of it. I had also written p^ticularly to Dr. Goddard, Dr. Merret, & Dr. Whisler, Dr. Benjamin Worsley, & Dr. Keffler, concerning some vegetables of this Country, & one especially w^{ch} might be accounted a kind of Jalap, but that it causeth to vomit as well as purge. Some

dried Roots also intended for your triall of them. All these writings put a drift in the water, so far as I know any thinge further about them, since they were delivered out of my hand! those above named experiments were there mentioned as *tentamina*, &, when oportunity of further trialls hath added more perfection to any or all, there may be a better account about them.

Yours, &c.,

J. W.

(Addressed) To Mr. OLDENBURG, Sec^r of Royal Society.

[No date.]

SIR, — I haue seen the letter w^{ch} lately came from y^r hands to S^r R. Moray by y^e favor of Col. Nichols, and perceiued the misfortune w^{ch} his and y^r letters haue met wth hitherto; w^{ch} I fear hath been also the lot of those I haue written to you severall times; among w^{ch} was one, sent you by one M^r Stuyvesand, a Dutch-man, wherein I put you in mind of severall things you were pleas'd to charge y^rself wth as a member of the R. Society, who hath a particular respect and kindness for you, and entertains the hopes still y^t you will not faile in performing y^e particulars, you receiued their commission for, in philosophicall matters. My letter, recommended to y^e s^d Stuyvesand for you, was accompanied wth an Exemplar of the History of y^e R. Society, and wth some of the Philosophicall Transactions, containing Queries about Mines and Tydes, and for composing a Naturall History of a Contry (the three great heads, we wish heartily, you would employ y^rself about, for the place where you are, and the neighbourhood thereof). Our good friend D^r John Beale in Somersetshire (a zealous member of y^e R. Society) being much concern'd for y^e saving of our English Timber, w^{ch} is much wasted by y^e great number of our Iron-Mills, is still very instant that they may be banish't into New England, where is both store of Iron and a superabundance of wood. It being objected that the New-Engl'd iron is brittle, he answers, 1. That art may possibly correct that britlenesse, if it be such; 2. That as it is, it may serue for many other necessary uses; 3. That there may be more sorts of Iron-stones than haue yet been tryed in that vast Continent from the North of N. Engl. to y^e South of Virginia, and as farr as the English possesse in Florida. And where the kindest Iron-stone is found, and where Fuell may best be allow'd, and where workmen may be had, there the store of Iron Mills and iron works should Indeed be encouraged.

Giue me leaue, I pray, Sir, to inquire what Chymists you haue in y^r parts; and whether they haue written any thing considerable on that argument? Item, What Mathematicall and Mechanicall men there are amongst you? Whether you haue any good Telescopes, to compare the Phenomena from that Coast wth the Accompts of Hevelius, Ricciolo, Cassini, etc. What advance of Harverd Coll. in y^r Cambridge? Whether you are furnisht wth the modern books of y^e most Ingenious and famous Philosophers and Mathematicians, as Descartes, Gassendus, Ricciolo, Hevelius, Cassini, Fabri, Ward, Wallis, Boyle, Pell, Hugenius, Willis, Hook, Merret, Wilkins, Evelyn, Vossius, etc.? And if you are not, whether it were not proper to move such as are

able and publick minded amongst you, together wth those amongst vs, that correspond and trade wth and wish well to New England and the rest of our American plantations, that they would be so generous as to lay out jointly such a summ of money (w^{ch} cannot amount to much) for the providing of the s^d collidge wth such kind of Books; by y^e use whereof the young students there would be led on to mind solid and usefull knowledge; w^{ch} would be much for the glory of y^t people, and in truth for the glory of Alm. God.

But farther, S^r, we should be glad to be inform'd by you, What are the staple-commodities of those Contries, y^t haue prov'd most constantly beneficiall in the tryalls they haue had hitherto? How Clothiers thrive there? How y^r Towns and Stocks of Catle are increasd? How y^e Tillage and Pasture in y^r severall Contries haue prov'd or been improv'd? What care of Gardens for y^e kitchen, and of orchards, either for wholesome edible fruit, or for good Cider? What mediciall Plants and Exotics you are stor'd wth, and what curiosity you haue amongst you for them? What vines for Grapes or wine? What Hop-yards there, or other helps for Beer or Ale? What Animals are there, either Naturall or Exotick: And here 'tis particularly desired, to informe us, whether the Natives haue any Wolf-dogs, w^{ch} they know to be really descended of Wolues of both sides (as seems to be remark'd by S^r Ferd. Gorges in his acct of Long Island; where he saith, y^t they are obedient to their Masters, but doe much hurt to our English Catle), or whether those Wolf-doggs are of a mingled race, y^e one side wolf, y^e other dog. In y^e records of Antiquity, we find that they us'd very great industry to blend the race of Dogs wth severall animals, as might be most for human advantage. Their Lynxes [?] are s^d to be y^e offspring of a Bitch and a Dog wolff. Certainly the best Irish Wolf-dog is a gallant Animal. And the Brittish Mastiff, though of no great size and very ugly, had y^e highest applause in y^e Roman theaters for invincible courage, of w^{ch} race we think there are very few left in England.—Tis not wthout reason, y^t we would engage you in this inquiry.* For 'tis no slight point of Philosophy to know at certainty what Animals may be tam'd for human use, and what commixtures wth other Animals may be advanced. And besides it may interpret to vs, whether those w^{ch} we call Dogs, of such strange diversities, and yet bearing one denominaõ, be not a mixture wth wolues, foxes, Leopards, Cats, Lyons, Tygers, etc.? Or whether they take not much of their Nature, shape, fierceness, swiftnes, sent, and other peculiar qualities for Hunting, Fowling, Fishing, and docibility from y^e peculiar soyle and climate where they are bred: As, whether the Liam-hound for senting, Grey-hound for swiftnes, Somersetsh: mastiff for fierceness, hold the same vertue to a second or third generaõ in Jamaica, Barbados, Virginia, New England, etc.? I doe not know (w^{ch} yet may seem very extravagant) why Dogs of the best sent might not be taught to search for mines and other reserues of Nature of great value.

But to returne from my digression, we would farther know, in what order y^r Sea-towns prosper there? And w^{ch} of y^m thriue best? And

* Oldenburg seems here to be approaching "The Origin of Species."

how it fares wth the Inland-towns? What are the particular hindrances; or where y^e best helps; or whether y^e number of Sea-towns be increas'd, and safer Havens discover'd, or any Harbors strengthen'd. We haue an imperfect mapp of Virginia, but none at all y^t I can find of New England. It would be well if y^r Printing presse were employ'd also for all y^e mapps you can get of New England, New-Netherland, Mary-Land, and whereuer y^e English are planted, whether on y^e Continent, as in Florida, Surinam, or in any of y^e Islands (especially such as are nearer and best known to you) from Bermudas to Newfoundland, as they come to be discover'd, strengthened, or planted more and more from time to time. We would fain heare what is y^e present condition, strength, or number of y^e English at Newfoundland; and what rules, power, and order to secure our Fishing there, and at the Banke. We want much better, briefer, and more substantiall Annals of y^e growth of New Engld.; and of all the removals the English haue made from that Colony, to plant in the neighboring islands, etc., than we had from S^t. Ferd. Gorges and his Grandchild M^r. Gorges. It would contribute much to y^e increase of y^e honor of y^t people to keep in their Archives y^e faithfull records of all their successes, stops, exigencies from their beginnings, and to doe the like kindness for their neighbors, as New Neth. or the Main or Georgeana; for y^e L^d. Poyden's Plantaõn, Maryland, Virgin., and y^e many islands about y^t Continent, as hath been noted.

More-ouer, we want exceedingly a true account of y^e qualitys of y^r Timber, and the progresse of y^r building of Ships. Some say, y^r Oake is not so hearty as Old Englands oake, and hence y^r ships farr lesse lasting. Others say, you are destitute of good Ship-wrights, others of good Sea-men, it having been noted y^t y^r best ships were cast away, when y^e rest of our English ships, w^{ch} were in y^e same Company, came safe to harbour. Great is the outcry here for the late waste of timber, especially about y^e Forests of Dean, where tis said that above 20,000 acres of y^e best Timber of England hath been cut downe and mis-spent. A noyse loud enough to turn our faces to seek Timber else-where, even whilst we enjoy peace. Is it true, I pray, y^t they make a good gain in N. Engld by y^e sale of boards, wainscot, planks, joyners work, coopers-work, carpenters work, ready fram'd? Sure you haue some saw mills and iron-mills; to w^{ch} if by an encouragemt from hence more might be added, that would be a hardy improvement and a fit employm^t for y^r Colony, and a kind of redemption to England.

We heare there is store of people in Maryland, its soyle very rich, my Lord Baltimer's son amongst y^m, and that 'tis very pleasant for habitaõn, but we hear not wth certainty what their Govern^t is; nor how they correspond wth other English, either towards Virginia or towards N. Engld. Nor can I hear how far y^e New Netherlanders doe comply wth New Engld or wth Mary-land? How happy would it be, if there were an Union of all our English Colonies for free communications wth mutuall assistances: Taking in the Bermudas and other isles, w^{ch} the English inhabite, they cannot be lesse than a

million of people. But I am told, to my grief, y^t for want of due care of them (w^{ch} would fix and settle y^m in convenient habitaõns) vast numbers of y^e English are become as wild as y^e Savages, and y^t they destroy all accommodaõns whereuer they come, and so remove from place to place as disorderly as y^e wild Tartars. If in time there should be discovered from the west side of y^t Continent a short and safe passage to y^e Southern Seas, then we shall not repent y^t we haue a numerous people there united, born and bred to agree wth y^e Air and Soyle, and too strong to be supplanted by their Ennemys. And if y^e English made it their busines to chuse their habitaõns about the heads of their rivers from New Engl. to Virginia, 'tis affirmed, they would haue a wholesomer Air, safer habitaõns, and y^e line of communicatõn much shorter. I think, Sir, you told me once y^t they had a foot passage from New Engl to Virginia through Maryland, and y^t it was not above 100 miles by y^t way. How easy then would it be to send forth 10 companies of Planters in 2 or 3 years from Virginia, Maryland, and N. Engl'd, to secure and maintaine commerce through y^t passage, as at every 10 miles distance: And in 2 or 3 years more they may settle more plantaõns, as at 5 miles distance.

I forgot above to adde this inquiry, whether young beavers may be disciplin'd; and how farr the Savages doe excell the English, Dutch, and Suedes in diving for them, and fetching y^m out of their holes?

And now I would intreat you again not to forget y^e Annals of New Engl. both corrected, and continued in a much better, briefer, and more substantiall manner, than is done by M^r Gorges, or by his Grandfather S^r Ferd. Gorges. If M^r Gorges Description of N. Engl. were carefully reviewed, y^e impertinencies, w^{ch} take up at least half of it, omitted, and then y^e following years continued, and y^e account of the neighboring plantations and removals (as aforesd) perfected, such a History together wth y^e Maps could not faile of a good Mart and Sale, as well amongst vs as in all the Colonies.

I send you herewth a Printed paper, w^{ch} contains y^e predictions of M^r Bond for the variations of y^e Needle for several years to come. It will be worth observing how they will be verified; and I doubt not but you will take notice, where you are, how the variation varies in New England; and excite y^r friends in the neighboring Plantations to observe likewise how it varies wth y^m. These printed papers contain likewise a set of Queries concerning Vegetables; I would intreat you to obserue y^rself and provoke y^r acquaintance to doe so too, what may serve for an answer to them, and, having done so, communicate it wth the other particulars, above recommended, for the use of y^e R. Society, to,

Sir,

Y^r faithful Servant,

HENRY OLDENBURG, *Soc. R. Secr.*

(Addressed) For his honord friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire,
at Boston, in New England.

(Indorsed) Rec'd May 6, 1669.

WHITEHALL, 17 Jul. 69.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,—Your letter writ in August last was delivered me by M^r Nicolls when he came hither. I would not haue forbore so long to answer it, if I had been sooner aduertised of an occasion to carry it to your hands. I have notice of this by him, & I willing embrace it, to thank you for your kind remembrance of me, & to let you know I do still retain that esteem & kindnesse for you that your worth & friendship exact of me. Could I make you a better return, it would joy me much. And I will be very ready to do so when it offers. I would study to finde out occasions to conuey my letters to you more frequently, had I any thing to acquaint you with that were worth your trouble, or did you lay any task upon me: as it is, I do satisfy myself that you are well & retain good impressions of my friendship. I do not remember I had any letter from you but one besides this last, since I saw you, though you haue, it seemes, been at the paines to write two more to me, but you haue heard of the loss of some of your own letters, which I should hardly have euer come to know if you had not told me. The grief you express for M^r Nicolls his return shewes me the value you haue for him, & that minds me of the thanks I owe you for your kindness to him, whereof I presume some part is upon my account: and I must tell you that I was not a little pleased to find him speak so very much to your advantage, and your testimony of his deportment there doth not a litle encrease my esteem of him.

It had been too much trouble to you to haue repeated what was in your former letter, but it would doubtless haue been not onely satisfactory to me, but usefull to know every thing you wrote. The account I had from Col. Nicolls of the Mineralls he caused search amounts to no great matter. If so be these warres amongst the Indians were once at an end, I do presume you will prosecute the designe you haue to enquire after Mineralls: and till then I cannot expect any such matter, but I do not doubt to hear from you when you meet with any thing of that nature. I do likewise presume you will not fail to make all such enquiries & observations concerning all curious naturall & artificiall things as you can. That of the Tides will be none of the least considerable. You might very well have writ what you hear about them in Nova Scotia. I can hardly think the Ebbes & floods can be greater there than on the Coast of France where the tide rises 14. fathom upright: and you cannot but know that in the Seuerne it flowes Ten Fathom. In a word, write what you hear, & enquire further. Wee haue in Scotland in diuerse places such currants in narrow passages that are not to be sailed through but on high & low water except in high windes, else they are either swallowed up in whirlpooles or dasht against the Rockes inevitably. I did impart to friends here what you say of these & other things, who all were glad to hear of your wellfare. I shall now add no further but my best wishes & a new assurance that I am & will ever be, My worthy friend, Your reall humble servant,

R. MORAY.

You say nothing to me of salt & other things I know you think of.

(Addressed) For JOHN WINTHROP, Esq. At Hartford in New England.

(Indorsed) S^r Robt Moray, rec. Mar: 19, 1670. [1671.]

LONDON, March 26, 1670.

SIR,—Y^r Kinsman, Mr. Adam Winthrop, hath acquitted himself faithfully of y^e trust you had reposed in him, in delivering into my hands both y^r letter and y^e American Curiosities accompanying the same. W^{ch} done, I herewth assure you that I was very carefull in presenting all to y^e R. Society, y^r newew being present, and an Eye-and-Ear-witnesse of y^e kind reception. His Maj^{ty} himselfe, hearing of some of y^e rarer things, would see y^m, and accordingly the Extraordinary Fish, the dwarf-oaks, y^e gummy fragrant Barke, wth knobbs, y^e silken podds, y^e baggs wth litle shells in them, etc., were carried to Whitehall, where the King saw them wth no common satisfaction, expressing his desire in particular to have y^r Stellar fish engraven and printed.* We wish very much, Sir, y^t you could procure for us a particular description of y^e s^d Fish, viz. whether it be common there; what is observable in it when alive; what colour it then hath; what kind of motion in the water; what use it maketh of all that curious workmanship w^{ch} Nature hath adorn'd it wth? etc. But before I recommend to you new tasks, I should first obey the command I have receiued from our Society, and returne you their hearty thanks for y^t rich Philosophical present you have increased the stock of their repository wth, assuring you that they continue a very affectionat respect for you and y^r merits, and are ready to demonstrate the realnes thereof upon occasion. And wherein any of their members can be of use to your newew, recommended by you, they will, I am sure, neglect no opportunities of convincing him of their affection. And y^t this returne may not be altogether verbal, you are to receiue wth it some few books lately printed here by several Fellows of y^e Society, viz.: 1. Mr. Boyles Continuation of y^e Experimts concerning the Spring and weight of the Aire. 2. Dr. Holders Philosophy of Speech. 3. Dr. Thurston *de Respirationis usu primario*. 4. The Transactions of the last year.

I hope y^e New English in America will not be displeas'd wth what they find the Old English doe in Europe as to y^e matter of improving & promoting usefull knowledge by Observations and Experiments; and my mind presages me that wthin a litle time we shall hear that the ferment of advancing real philosophy, w^{ch} is very active here and in all our neighbouring Countrys, will take also in y^r parts, and there seize on all, that have ingenuity and industry, for the farther spreading of the honor of the English nation, and the larger diffusing of y^e manifold advantages and benefits y^t must proceed from thence.

I am persuaded, Sir, you will lay out y^r talent for y^t purpose, and instill the noblenesse and usefulness of this Institution and work, wth y^r best Logick and Oratory, into the minds of all y^r friends and acquaintances there, especially of those pregnant youths y^t haue begun to giue proof of their good capacities for things of that nature. I

* This star-fish was engraved; and Governor Winthrop's account of it, and of other curiosities, was printed in the Society's monthly publication for March, 1670, being the first number of the fifth volume of their Transactions.

doubt not but the savage Indians themselves, when they shall see the Christians addicted, as to piety and vertue, so to all sorts of ingenuities, pleasing Experiments, usefull Inventions and Practices, will thereby insensibly and y^e more cherefully subject themselves to you.

This I could not but represent to you upon so good an occasion as this is; to w^{ch} I shall add no more at present, than to recommend to you afresh the composeure of a faithfull and ample Natural History of New England; as also to sollicite you, y^t you would not think it a trouble to recover again such particulars, as you intimate in y^r letters to be lost, w^{ch} were likewise intended for the R. Society; especially of Minerals. And I make it my particular request to you y^t you would be pleas'd to send ouer for me a smal vessel wth red Crams-berry's, cover'd wth water, w^{ch} is said to be the best way of preserving y^m. I am ready to acknowledge this kindnesse, wherein I can; and so wishing you and all y^{rs} a continuance and increase of all happinesse, I remaine, Sir,

Y^r very afft friend and servant,

HENRY OLDEN[BURG].

Great Plenty of acorns all ouer England, Scotland, and ireland y^e last year 1669.

S^r R. Moray presents his particular respects to you, and tells me, y^t his Maj^{ty} would be well pleased, if you sent over such a quantity of y^r silkpods, as would make him a pillow. It may occasion his Maj^{ty} to think on you as often he lays his head on [such] a pillow.

(Addressed) For my honored ffriend JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire,
Gouernour of Conecticut in New England.

Wth a paquet of Books. To be Left at M^r John Richards house in Boston.

H O

(Indorsed) M^r Hen^{ry} Oldenburg.

LONDON, May 9th, 1670.

SIR, — I have lately, viz. March 26, 70, written so large, that I shall doe little else by this opportunity of Dr. Pells son than to reffer you to y^t letter, and to the Books I sent you together with the same. Only I shall here mention, that, since y^t time, here is come abroad a new Hypothesis of the Fluxe and Reflux of the Sea, devised by one Mr. Hyrne, supposing y^t y^e Earth, besides y^e Diurnal and Annual motion, hath another, directly from North to South, for y^e space of 6 hours and some odd minuts, and then again from South to North for y^e same time; and y^t in this motion y^e Earth does not always move to the same points, but farther, when we have Spring-tides, yⁿ at other times; and y^t y^e motion of y^e Earth in each vibration from the Spring-tide to y^e neap-tide decreaseth, as that of a Pendulum will doe; and from thence again increases in y^e same proportion it decreased, till the Tydes be at y^e highest.

From this Hypothesis he pretends to solve all the phænom[ena] of y^e diurnal and menstrual Tydes, adscribing the Annual to meer casualties. Hence he will give a reason, why y^e Spring tides are all the world over at y^e same time, on the same side of the Æquator; and why a place hath the greater tydes, y^e farther it is distant from the Æquator, etc.

It would be worth knowing, whether, according to this supposition, it be high water on y^r American shore all over, at y^e same time it is high water all over the European Shore. He affirms particularly, y^t in the Bay of Mexico there is but a very litle or no rise and fall of y^e water, and pretends to solve this phænomenon also by his Theory.

Sir, you will doe us and Philosophy a good piece of service to acquaint us wth what particulars you know of the matter of fact in America, and of what you can learne from observing and credible navigators all over that part of the world. This gentleman is very confident of the truth of this Hypothesis, taking the liberty to say in writing, y^t he hath been for many years as fully satisfied in his judgement concerning the Cause of this Phænomenon, as of any in Nature.

This must be examined by good Observations, and a general and faithfull History of y^e Tydes: to w^{ch} that you would contribute your and y^r friends symbols, is the errant of this letter from, Sir,

Y^r very afft and faithfull servant,

H. OLDENBURG.

The Books sent March 26, were; 1. Mr. Boyles Continuation of Expts concerning y^e Spring and Weight of the Air. 2. Dr. Holders Philosophy of Speech. 3. Dr. Thurstons Diatriba de respirationis usu primario. [4.] All the Transactions of A. 1669.

(Addressed) To his honored Friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire,
Gouvernour of Conecticut in New England.

To be inquired for at Boston. By a friend.

(Indorsed) M^r. Hen: Oldenburge.

WHITEHALL, 22 Jun. '70.

MY VERY WORTHY FRIEND, — The unfrequency of our Correspondence must not in the least detract from our kindness. I usually answer your letters with the first conueniency after I receiue them. I doubt not of your continuing your industrious enquiries, though of a long while wee haue had no account of them from you. The bearer will acquaint you with occurrences here & so giues me ground of excuse for the breuity of my letter, but you do not measure my friendship by the number of my lines. I will be glad of any opportunity to make it appear by the highest kinde of demonstration you can put me to. And to shew you I have a firm confidence of yours, I do most earnestly recommend to your fauor the bearer Mr. John Pell, whose worthy father D^r Pell you know we value highly. The Gentleman is a Server in ordinary to the King; & I do firmly expect & certainly promise my self you will use him as you might expect I would a

friend of yours vpon your serious recommendation, and indeed I will account your kindness to him as a singular testimony of your friendship to,

My worthy friend, your reall servant,

R. MORAY.

(Indorsed). S^r Robert Moray to Gov^r W. 1670.

HONOURED S^r,—You might justly blame my backwardnesse of answering your kinde & large letter to me last year, but y^t I trust your goodnesse will be ready still to make y^e best construction of what admits anie. I have my self undergone a sicknesse which was like to have proov'd y^e last, & since the recovery found my self on a sudden plunged in & distracted with a most troublesome tedious controversie & Lawsute, whiles my dear wife fell ill, & after much weaknesse, growing upon her byond recoverie, departed this life, which accid^t was followed with a sad traine of many other troubles to me; besides y^e losse of many very speciall ffrends in severall parts, & especially of that dear & worthy frend of ours M^r Morlaen, whom I had so great a Desire to have seen once more. He & his wife soon deceased one after another, & I am informed that all his goods & those many excell^t curiosities & rarities he was master of were suddenly sold, distracted, scattered. After all this, when I recollect what is past, I cannot but admire & adore Gods mercifull & wonderfull dispensation, deliverance, & sustentation, whereby he hath & doth uphold me in all my streights, that I have cause to complain of nothing but my own unthankfullnesse to him for all his goodnesse. S^r, from all this I doubt not but you will easily inferre, that it was rather an increase of trouble to me than otherwise that I could not enjoy y^e benefit of so acceptable an entercourse as your singular Love & kindnesse invited & engaged me to; & that I was right glad of this good opportunity by y^e meanes of Dr. Pell (so worthy & dear a ffrend) his own & onely son, to expecorate my case into yo^r Bosome, & to deliver into your own hands this Testimonie of my constant & due Respects to your person & y^e high & worthie esteem of yo^r vertues & Merits, sorrie onely that for y^e present I have not other & better matter to entertain you withall; & to requite the paines you took & y^e content you gave me by y^e rehearsall of so many signall acts of the Divine Providence, vulgarly call'd casualties. Truly, S^r, I esteemed them so much y^e more because I am sure you doe not report such matters by common hearsey; & indeed, S^r, if we would but be attentive observers of our own personall concerns of this kinde, in thankfull acknowledgem^t to God & usefull Providence for our selves, what Treasures would it afforde us, & what incitements, encouragem^{ts}, & engagem^{ts}, to fear, love, & serve our great & good God, & to be on all occasions helpfull, comfortable, & beneficiall to ourselves & others, causing us often to rememb^r, sing, & practise the 107th Psalm. I could instance passages of my own Experience & Experim^{ts} of this nature, as of y^e greatest part of my Life, so especially of y^e latter troublesom yeares, but y^t y^e circumstances

are too many & diffuse for Letters. However, we do well to observe all occurrences, & to improve all experiments without & within us to the End of our Creation, Redemption, & Preservation. I hope, S^r, if God vouchsafes me longer Life and health I shall be at better leasure hereafter to entertain your epistolar visits, & glad of any opportunity to shew, that, how undeserving soever of so meritorious & thrice worthy a friendship as yours, none is more willing and desirous to endeavour all acknowledgem^t therof than,

Most honoured S^r, Your very humble & much obliged Servant,

THEODORE HAAK.

LONDON, this 22 of June, 1670.

P. S. — Just now I receive a Book from Holland, in Dutch (called *Historia Generalis Insectorum*, ofte *Allgemeene Verhandelng van de Bloedeloose Dierkens*) printed at Utrecht, & set forth by one Jo. Swāmerdam, Medic. Doct. in 4^{to} ab^t 32 sheets with xiii cutts annexed, & yet but the First part. They tell me, y^e author is a rare man, & asserts nothing but what he hath found himself by his own mature & curious observations: therefore I believe I may recomēd it to your procurem^t as a good book for to be also improved in yo^r parts.

(Addressed) For JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^r, Governor of y^e Province
of Conecticut in New England, for His Mat^{ie} of
Great Brittain residing at ———.

Pr Frend whom God Speed.

(Indorsed) Mr. Theodore Haake.

LONDON, March 18, 1671 $\frac{1}{2}$.

SIR, — Though I receiued yrs, dated at Hartford Nov. 28, 1671, (w^{ch} I did not till March 1, 1671 $\frac{1}{2}$) yet I have not yet y^e Indian dialogue and the sheet call'd y^e Indian A, B, C; nor doth the Master, y^t brought y^e letter, remember y^t any such books were left wth him at Boston; though he adds, he will look for y^m wth care. I cannot but thank you for the particulars contained in y^r letter; for w^{ch} I have nothing to return at present but the Transactions of y^e last year.

I receiued yesterday news from Dantzick, written by Mous^r Hevelius, importing y^t he had seen since March 6 (n. st.) a new Comete; w^{ch} had been observed there by others March 2, first of all. He intimates y^t he saw it from y^e 6th to y^e 9th of March (st. n.) (on w^{ch} day his letter was written) both mornings and evenings; and on y^e 9th he found it *in brachio dextro Andromedæ*. If this phænomenon haue appear'd to you also (w^{ch} it hath not yet done to us, y^t I can learn,) I hope you will impart to us y^r observations by y^e next. There is also seen a new starr *sub capite Cygni*, w^{ch} was first observ'd y^e last year, and is now observ'd again: w^{ch} you will doe well to look after in y^r parts. The Discourse of Mr. Boyle concerning the Origine and Vertue of Gems is not yet printed off: when it is, you shall not faile, God permitting, of hauing a Copy of it sent you by y^e first ship y^t shall goe for y^r parts after its publication.

Y^r noble friends here, My L^d Brereton, Mr. Boyle, Sir Robert Moray, etc. returne their affectionat services to you, and continue wth me their earnest request, that you would not delay to put in writing what you know of y^e constitution and productions, etc., of New England. Though it cannot be perfect, yet it will be very welcome, as much as can be said of it by you. What remains, and what shall be further discover'd hereafter, will be the work of those y^t shall survive us. You will pardon this importunity to him, y^t by his office must employ himself in constant sollicitations, and y^t is somewhat impatient of all delays in matters of present utility; and who thinks also he may presume to use a great degree of freedome wth a person, whom he knows to be both curious and able, and of a nature prone to pardon the tediousnesse of, Sir,

Y^r faithful friend and serv^t

OLDENBURG.

(Addressed) To his honored friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire,
Gouverneur of Conectecut in New England.

(Indorsed) M^r. Oldenburge,
rec: about Jun: 1672.

WHITEHALL, 8 Ap. -71.

MY VERY WORTHY FRIEND,—Your friendship & kindness are amongst the things I value most. The care you take to shew them upon occasion deserves better returnes than I can make. I should be very glad you would help me to devise how to be quittes with you. Your present of the pods with the silk lyke cotton I shew'd the King, & haue caused pick the seeds of them. He is much pleased with every thing that either curiosity or usefullnesse commends. I haue giuen of the seeds to be sowed here. Could the down of them be spun or wrought into hats, &c., it were considerable, but it is too tender for any such use: & they tell me, it will not long keep its Springiness if it be kept vnder pressure. I know you are still busy about enquiries & improvements. Prince Rupert hath found out an admirable way to turn cast Iron or any other Iron into Steel so as to be as usefull as the best in the world and for rollers to draw plates withall better than any other. It will make excellent Gunnes great & small, & in a word render, as is probably expected, refining Iron useless, as also steeling of all Tooles. For the tooles being wrought up all but the polishing, (where polishing is needfull) of good Iron, He can turn the whole tool whateuer it be into perfect Steel cheeper than the Steel comes to in the ordinary way: & then bring it to what temper is desired without spoiling it in the least. This is all the trouble I shall now give you. But I should be glad you would lay some task on me that might serve for a conuincing testimony that I am really,

My very worthy friend,

Your reall servant,

R. MORAY.

Your noble kindness towards Mr. Pell did very much oblige many of his friends, for w^{ch} I have a large share of thanks to give you, which I do heartily return you.

(Addressed) For JOHN WINTHROP, Esq.,
Gournor of Connecticut, New England.

(Indorsed) S^r Robert Moray.

(LONDON, April 11, 1671.)

SIR, — Y^r letter of Octob. 11, 1670, to me, and y^r present to the R. Society, together with that to S^r R. Moray, I haue well receiued from the hands of Mr. Fairwather, who deserveth to be commended for his care of the particulars you had entrusted him wth. I soon deliver'd to y^e s^d Society their parcell, viz. The Shell-fish (call'd Horse-foot,) y^e Humming bird-nest wth y^e two Eggs in it, being yet whole; y^e feather'd Fly; and y^e shells, bullets, and clays taken out of y^e overturn'd Hill. For all w^{ch}, that Noble Company returns you their hearty thanks, and very much desires the continuance of such curious communications, for the enlargement of their repository, and consequently of y^e intended History of Nature. These curiosities being view'd at one of our publick meetings, some of y^e Company conceiued, y^t what you call y^e sharp taile of y^e Horse-foot is rather the fore part and nose of y^e fish; y^e same persons having also found y^t two of the knobbs on the shell, now dry'd vp, had been the places of the Eyes, and did still by y^e manner of their ductus's expresse y^t they had looked towards y^e s^d nose, when the animal was aliue. The Humbird-nest was also shew'd to his Maj^{ty}, who was as much pl^{ea}sed wth it as y^e Society. And I doubt not but S^r Rob. Moray will tell you the same, and w^hall acknowledge y^e receipt of those silke pods y^t were directed to him.

Concerning y^e overturned Hill, it is wished that a more certain and punctual relation might be procured of all the circumstances of y^t accident.* It seems strange y^t no Earth-quake was perceiued, and yet that y^e Hill is said to haue been carried ouer the tops of y^e Trees into y^e River, as also y^t people living near it should not certainly know the day, when this happened. I doubt not, Sir, but y^r owne curiosity will haue carried you, since you wrote this, to view y^e place, and to examine all the particulars remarkable in this matter. I hope My Lord Brereton, to whom you communicated the story at length, will also write to you by this returne, and joyne wth me in the request of giuing us a fuller account of this wonder.

I cannot yet desist from recommending to you the composure of a good History of New England, from the beginning of y^e English arrival there, to this very time; containing y^e Geography, Natural Productions, and Civill Administration thereof, together wth the notable

* A letter of Governor Winthrop's to Lord Brereton, containing the account of this "overturned Hill," was read at the meeting of the Society, March 23, 1671, and is printed in Birch's History, vol. ii. p. 473.

progresse of y^t Plantation, and the remarkable occurrences in the same. An vndertaking worthy of Mr. Wintthrop, and a member of y^e Royal Society!

I herewith send you a few philosophical Books, lately printed here; viz.:—

1. M^r Boyl's New Tracts about y^e wonderful rarefaction and Condensation of the Air, etc.

2. Mons^r Charas's New Experiments vpon Vipers.

3. The Transactions of 1670.

To these I adde a small discourse, originally written in French against y^t great Sorbonist, Mons^r Arnaud, touching y^e Perpetuity of y^e Romish Faith about the Eucharist. And so wishing you much health and happinesse, I remain, Sir,

Y^r faithful servant,

HENRY OLDENBURG.

S^r, when you send any thing more for the R. Society, or for me, I pray, add my dwelling place (in y^e *Palmal*) to the superscription. I must not forget to giue you very many thanks for y^e Cranberries: they tasted of y^e Cask, or else they would haue been very good.

P. S.—I just now receiued S^r R. Moray's letter, as you find it here vnsealed. My L^d Brereton hath not yet sent his, and I dare stay no longer from doing vp this packet, the master of y^e Ship hauing appointed this morning for the delevering of it.

(Addressed) To his honord friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire,
Governor of Conecticut in New England.

(Indorsed) M^r H: Oldenburge,
Secretary of y^e Royall Society.

REPRINTED FROM THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

SEPTEMBER, 1879.

But there is another subject, Gentlemen, to which I desire to call your attention this morning, and which is of a more immediate and pressing concern.

You will all have observed the discussions which have recently taken place at the City Hall in regard to the Graveyard immediately under our windows. Proposals have been made for closing it to all future interments. Proposals have also been made for opening a pathway across it, to accommodate those who would pass more directly and easily from Tremont Street to Court Square. And while no proposition

has yet been formally offered for doing away with the burial-place altogether, obliterating the ancient graves and tombstones, and leaving the little square open for the erection of buildings of any sort, yet no one can observe the progress of events without feeling, or at least fearing, that this may be the ultimate view of some of those who have interested themselves most prominently in the various proposals which have already been actually offered. Indeed, in the Report of the Board of Health of this city, in 1877, we find the following passage: "We believe the time has already arrived when the cemeteries within the city proper should be closed against further burials, not only as a sanitary measure, but *with the view of eventually removing the remains of the bodies which have been buried therein to some more suitable locality in the suburbs.*" Then follows an estimate of the value of the lands in the chapel and granary grounds, — the value of the lot beneath our windows being set down at \$300,000. And then the Report proceeds to say: "*If they could be sold at this valuation, or be taken by the city for public use, — say for the extension of City Hall or a court house, — the amount would purchase a larger tract of land in some outlying district or neighboring town, &c.*" "Sooner or later (it may not be in this or the next generation) the remains of those buried in these cemeteries *will be removed*, and the ground *will be used for other purposes.*" Such were the conclusions and positive assertions of the Board of Health in 1877, not, as it will be perceived, on any mere sanitary considerations, but in the line of pecuniary speculation and municipal convenience.

Now, I need not say that our Society has a twofold interest in this subject.

In the first place, as the owners of this building, in which almost all our funds are invested, we cannot fail to perceive that any shutting out of our light and air on our long southwestern or southern side would be of the most serious detriment to our estate, and would involve losses which we are quite unable to bear. On this point, however, it is not for me to enlarge. It will be for our Finance Committees, from time to time, to see to it that no encroachment is made on our rights, and no injury done to our property.

But, in the second place, we are peculiarly bound, as an Historical Society, to watch over the ancient historical sites of our city, and to make seasonable remonstrance against the unnecessary destruction of its old landmarks. We seem to have been stationed here as the special guardians of this old Graveyard. We all know that there is no spot within the

limits of Boston more peculiarly associated with the earliest origin and settlement of the town, two hundred and forty-nine years ago, than the Square of which what is now called "King's Chapel Burial Ground" is a part, and which is mainly included between School Street and Court Street, and between Tremont and Washington Streets. This is emphatically set forth by our lamented friend, Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, in his "Topographical and Historical Description of Boston," of which the second edition was published as late as 1871, — a few years after he had left the Mayoralty, and only a few years before his own death. He begins his fifty-sixth chapter as follows: "Historically considered, there is no part of the peninsular portion of Boston that is so rich with antiquarian associations as the large quadrangle which has Court Street for its northerly boundary, Washington Street for its easterly, School Street for its southerly, and Tremont Street for its westerly."

There was an old tradition, which may or may not have had some foundation, that Isaac Johnson, the excellent husband of the charming Lady Arbella, had chosen this for his lot. There is, however, no reason for thinking that such a choice, if made, was ever confirmed. Both he and his wife died too early to have had any distinct relations to Boston. They neither lived here, nor were buried here. The earliest authenticated interment in this Graveyard is, I believe, that of Governor John Winthrop in 1649. I have no doubt whatever that Margaret Winthrop, the devoted wife who followed him to New England in 1631, had been buried here in 1647, and that the Governor's remains were laid by the side of hers. Many others, too, may have been buried here, and probably were, before either of them. Dr. Shurtleff cites an original order of the town in 1642, that "The constables shall, with all convenient speed, take care for fencing in the burying-place." This was the first, and for many years the only, burying-place in Boston, and must, therefore, have had many tenants before the death of Governor Winthrop. But there is no stone or record, I believe, so old as the date on the tablet which covers the place of his burial.

His must have been a most notable burial at the time, and the exact place of his interment could not have been mistaken or forgotten, even if it were not marked at the moment.

Governor Winthrop died at his residence, in Washington Street, opposite the foot of School Street, on what may be called the Old South lot, on the 26th of March, or, as we should now style it, the 5th of April, 1649. His house was

burned up for firewood by the British soldiers, while they were using the Old South Church for their cavalry horses, in 1775. In the parlor of that house, immediately on Winthrop's death, a consultation was held by the principal persons of the town as to the ordering of the funeral, "it being the desire of all that in that solemnity it may appear of what precious account and desert he hath been, and how blessed his memorial." These were the words used by John Wilson and John Cotton, the ministers, and Governor Bellingham and John Clark, in the letter which they at once despatched by Nahawton, a trusty and swift Indian messenger, to the governor's eldest son, at Pequod, informing him that the funeral would take place on the 3d of the next month, — which would be, according to new style, the 13th of April, — and desiring his presence on the occasion.

That 13th of April, 1649, must have witnessed a memorable gathering on the spot which these windows of ours now look out upon. It requires no stretch of imagination to depict the scene when the old father of the town and colony, who had brought over the Charter of Massachusetts, as the first full Governor, nineteen years before, and who had held the office of Governor, with the exception of four or five years, during the whole period, was borne at last, as Governor, to his grave. Dudley, then deputy governor, Endicott, Bellingham, and Bradstreet must certainly have been there. John Cotton, John Wilson, Thomas Shepard, and the revered John Eliot, among the clergy, could not fail to have been present; and the latter may have been attended by a group of the Indians, to whom he was the apostle, and whom Winthrop had uniformly befriended during his life. There is an old family record of one of the Pequod Sagamores coming to Boston at the time, and exclaiming, "He is alive! he is alive!" on seeing the Governor's portrait in the parlor. Increase Nowell, the old secretary, and John Clark were doubtless there, with Winthrop the younger, from Connecticut. Possibly Bradford or some of the Pilgrims may have come from Plymouth, and may have given Morton his account of the "great solemnity and honor" of the occasion. The artillery officers, — probably what is now known as the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, whose charter had been signed by Winthrop in 1638, — are recorded as having been present, and as having taken the responsibility of using a barrel and a half of the colony powder, without leave, for funeral salutes; for which the colony indemnified them at the next meeting of the General Court, as we find by the following record: —

"Whereas the Surveyor General, on some encouragements, lent one barrel & a half of the country's store of powder to the Artillery Officers of Boston, conditionally, if the General Court did not allow it to them as a gift to spend it at the funeral of our late honored Governor, they should repay it, the powder being spent on the occasion above said,—the Court doth think meet that the powder so delivered should never be required again, and thankfully acknowledge Boston's great, worthy, due love, and respects to the late honoured Governor, which they manifested in solemnizing his funeral, whom we accounted worthy of all honor."

There were no religious services or sermons at funerals at that period of our colonial history. Indeed, Dr. Shurtleff states,—incredible as it may seem,—that the first prayer at a funeral in Boston was as late as 1766, and the first funeral sermon as late as 1783.* John Cotton preached a sermon on Winthrop on a special Fast held by the church during his illness, of which we have a few extracts only. But funeral sermons of old, as nowadays, were preached on some Sunday after the interment. No religious exercises were needed, however, to make the occasion a solemn one. Hutchinson, who had access to all the contemporary records, speaks of "the general grief through the colony"; and it is easy to picture to ourselves the authorities and the people of the town and the neighborhood assembling at the Governor's house, and following the corpse, borne by loving hands,—for there were no hearses in those days,—to the tomb or grave, which it is now proposed in some quarters to desecrate and do away.

In the same tomb or grave, by a striking coincidence, were afterward buried the governor's eldest son, John Winthrop, then Governor of Connecticut, in 1676, and his two sons, Fitz-John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, in 1707, and Wait-Still Winthrop, Chief-justice of Massachusetts, in 1717. It was on this last burial that old Cotton Mather wrote the extraordinary and extravagant Latin epitaph, containing the line, "*Palatium est hic locus, non tumulus.*"

I have alluded to this Winthrop tomb first because it came first in order of date. But there are other tombs in this old graveyard of not inferior interest: that of "the famous reverend and learned pastors of the first Church of Christ," including John Cotton and John Davenport; that of the Boston Winslows, including Mary Chilton, the wife of one of them, who was said to have been the first to leap ashore from the pilgrim "Mayflower" at Plymouth Rock; that of Governor Leverett; that of Major Thomas Savage, one of the

* See President's remarks at October meeting.

most gallant commanders in King Philip's war; those of Captain Roger Clap, of Deacon William Paddy — "blessed William Paddy," as Mr. Savage was so fond of calling him, — of Thomas Brattle, the eminent merchant; and of Colonel Thomas Dawes, the leading mechanic of his day, — all men famous in their day and generation.

There are many other names, as I hardly need to say, to be found on these old tombstones, and worthy to be recalled in this connection: Brinleys and Bromfields, Bulfinches and Coolidges, Brimmers and Apthorps, Pittses and Lindalls, Joneses and Melvilles, Phillipses and Salisburys, Sewalls and Storers; not forgetting the name of Oliver Wendell, in behalf of whose tomb so admirable a letter has been published from his distinguished descendant and namesake, our associate Dr. Holmes; nor yet forgetting that a second Winthrop tomb contains the dust of the eminent philosopher and patriot, Professor John Winthrop, a leading mind of Harvard University for forty years, the friend of Franklin and the correspondent of John Adams.

Let me add, that I have felt the more impelled to speak particularly of these Winthrop tombs, because, during the debate in the Common Council, it was observed that "if any of Governor Winthrop's descendants were about," it seemed rather singular that they did not come forward three years ago, and remonstrate against any thing of this kind. But I may be pardoned for saying, that, in my humble judgment, this is by no means a mere question for the descendants of anybody. Its interest reaches far beyond any personal sentiment or family pride. It is, indeed, hardly too much to say of it, that it is very much such a question as it would be in Florence or Pisa, if it were proposed to infringe upon the Campo Santo of either of them; or, as it would be in London, if plans were offered for cutting off a piece of Westminster Abbey to open a pathway or widen a street.

This time-honored Graveyard goes back in history a hundred years behind the Old South or Faneuil Hall, and is, as I have said, the most historical and sacred spot within our limits. I care very little personally whether any further interments shall be allowed in the old tombs, though I had always relied on having a resting-place in the sepulchre of my ancestors, where my father and mother were also buried. I am quite willing, however, to forego such a privilege, and to be reinterred in due time to my lot at Mt. Auburn. But the Graveyard itself should be kept and cared for as the very apple of the city's eye. It should be made an ornament to the city, and

not left as an eye-sore. It should be preserved, as by a solemn consecration, for all generations. It might well be adorned and inscribed, so as to attract the observation of our children and of strangers, and might even claim some recognition on a Decoration Day, or on the Anniversary of the Settlement of Boston. At all events it should be preserved, as long as Boston has an anniversary to celebrate, or a name to live in the annals of our land. One might almost be tempted to adopt, in the way of remonstrance and warning against any alienation or obliteration of such a "God's Acre," the familiar lines on the tomb of Shakespeare at Stratford-upon-Avon:—

" Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbear
To dig the dust enclosed here :
Blest be the man that spares these stones,
And curs'd be he that moves my bones."

The first fathers of New England, who sleep in these graves, were compatriots and contemporaries of Shakespeare, and though they built no lofty rhymes or immortal dramas, they founded a City and a Commonwealth which will hardly be disposed to bring upon themselves the reproach of having allowed such graves to be desecrated.

I have not thought it important or desirable that our Society should interpose any objection to the closing of these tombs against further interments. That proposal may well be decided upon with sole reference to sanitary considerations. Perhaps, too, the idea of secularizing and selling, or using the ground for other purposes, may be abandoned, for the present at least, without any action of ours. But I hope that our Council may henceforth have standing instructions to remonstrate and protest seasonably, should any such vandalism be seriously undertaken, now or hereafter.

I should be quite willing to include the old " Granary Burying-ground " in the same instruction, where the remains of so many of the Huguenots, and so many of the patriots and governors of the Revolutionary period, repose,— Peter Fan-euil, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, James Bowdoin, James Sullivan, and Christopher Gore,— our first two presidents,— Dr. Jeremy Belknap, our founder, Governor Sumner, The Victims of the Boston Massacre, the father and mother of Franklin, with at least one of our earlier governors, Richard Bellingham.

Both these little squares belong to history. Both should be preserved inviolate, and reverently cared for. Both might well be the subject of legislative protection. Both should be

made to serve for the health and beauty of our city, while they perpetuate the remembrance of those who have done honor to it in succeeding generations. But the Graveyard immediately under these windows, the old original burying-place of the founders of the city, seems peculiarly and primarily to appeal to our guardianship, and I have therefore confined myself mainly to the considerations which pertained to it. I will say no more about either of them.

